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ABSTRACT

This issue of "Coordinators' Notebook" focuses on gender issues in early childhood. The first article, "Both Halves of the Sky: Gender Socialization in the Early Years," focuses on the arguments that have led to an international call for increased participation of girls in education, an introduction to studies which map young children's experiences, and an overview of the Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) methodology which is a community assessment technique used to gather information. A summary of the findings from the six studies is presented, followed by a discussion of what might be done in the future to increase understanding of gender issues. The second article, "Gender Development and Culture--Excerpts from Studies in Six Countries," (Aicha Belarbi) examines the countries of Morocco, Bolivia, Mali, India, Indonesia, and Jamaica. The excerpts are taken from longer studies which present the experiences and findings from each country's gender socialization studies. The final section of this issue, "Network Notes," presents activities of the secretariat, information on the Save the Children program, UNESCO, High/Scope Foundation, Meetings, publications, videotapes, and the calendar. (SD)

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o. 20, 1997

Coordinators' notebook

An International Resource for Early Childhood Development

THE CONSULTATIVE GROUP ON EARLY CHILDHOOD CARE AND DEVELOPMENT

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BOTH HALVES OF THE SKY: Gender Socialization in the Early Years

JUDITH L. EVANS

UNICEF/3851/Francene Keery

Early childhood programmes can make a difference in promoting gender equity.

Women hold up half of the sky.

CHINESE PROVERB

In recent years, considerable international attention has focused on the plight of the girl child. In particular, there has been increasing concern about and interest in promoting greater participation by girls in schooling, since the education of young girls often lags behind the education of boys, beginning-and reinforcing a long cycle of discrimination.[1] This discrimination harms both women and men, particularly as shifting economic and social factors in nearly every society are requiring and resulting in a re-definition of individuals' roles at work, at home and in the shared culture.

Girls' successful participation in education is a key goal within individual countries' plans for Education for All, as well as in the agendas of UNICEF and other major international organizations supporting development efforts. In order to achieve this goal, however, it is necessary to step back a moment and consider the way in which it is defined, as well as the supports for and impediments to reaching it.

In most countries, girls and boys are raised from the beginning to take on very different roles, and to exhibit different characteristics. In some cases, the expected behaviours of girls may make them more likely to succeed in schooling than boys; in other cases, the expectations of girls preclude their real participation in education. Although there is much good will to address the inequities of opportunities for girls and women to receive basic education within many societies, it can not be assumed that educated women will be embraced by their culture or easily take on new roles. Education can not magically 'erase' all gender inequities or resolve the problems created as traditional roles disintegrate, and both women and men are left uncertain as to how they can successfully meet their needs. In other words, while girls' participation in education is important, it needs to be addressed within the context of each country's values, goals and childrearing practices—it is necessary to identify the

[1] See *Women's Education in Developing Countries: Barriers, Benefits and Policies*, edited by Elizabeth M. King and M. Anne Hill. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.

gender socialization patterns which will support or impede the successful participation of girls and boys (and women and men) in changing societies.

By the time a child reaches school age, she or he is firmly rooted in a gender identity, which brings with it a whole set of expectations about behaviour and character. Yet most of the research on gender socialization does not look at this early, pre-schooling development, nor does most childrearing research focus on the development of gender traits. In response to these gaps in our knowledge, the Consultative Group on Early Childhood Care and Development (CG) coordinated a set of studies looking at gender socialization of young children in six countries.

In this article we will describe the studies conducted in 1996, which were designed to give us a preliminary understanding of how these cultures socialize their children into gender roles. The studies' intent was to begin to map young children's experiences, and to identify attitudes, practices and beliefs that would be likely to impact on children's later development. As a secondary focus, a Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) methodology was implemented with communities in an attempt to see how useful PLA could be in this process of mapping gender socialization. PLA is a community assessment technique that has been used to gather information on a wide range of issues.

Following a brief discussion on the arguments that have led to an international call for increased participation of girls in education, we will present an introduction to the studies, and then an overview of the PLA process, with special attention to the impact this methodology had on the kind of data that were generated. Then a summary of the findings from the six studies is presented, followed by a discussion of what might be done in the future to increase our understanding of gender issues, and how PLA methodology might be used as a tool in this endeavor.

Girls' Successful Participation in Education

Equity is a primary argument in support of increased participation by girls in schooling. The Convention on the Rights of the Child, Part I, Article 2, states that nations are obligated to protect children from any form of discrimination and to take positive action to promote their rights. Specifically it states:

> *States Parties shall respect and ensure the rights set forth in the present Convention to each child within their jurisdiction without discrimination of any kind, irrespective of the child's or his or her parent's or legal guardian's race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, property, disability, birth or other status.*

In other words, all children have a right to develop to their full potential regardless of gender. Having rights to equity, while being a sufficient reason to provide for girl children, is not the only cogent argument that can be made to support greater attention to gender.

Another argument in support of girls' participation in education comes from studies which have found that education not only benefits the girl, but also society (Shultz, 1993; King and Hill, 1993). There is a positive correlation between each additional year of schooling a girl receives and the health and education of her children. For example, from a review of the literature, Shultz has concluded the following:

> *An added year of maternal education tends to be associated with a fairly constant percentage decline in child mortality rates. ... The reduction in child mortality associated with an additional year of mother's schooling is about the same [for rural and urban areas] between 5 and 10 percent.* (1993, pg. 69)

In looking further at the factors that contribute to a decrease in infant mortality rates, Shultz states: "Mother's education explains more of the variation in child mortality than do other variables such as access to health care, cost of health care, or even family income available for health care." (1993, pg. 70). Thus providing girls with more education has an impact on future children's survival. It also benefits society as a whole. As noted by Summers:

> *Increased schooling has similar effects on the incomes of males and females, but educating girls generates much larger social benefits. Because of what women do with the extra income they earn [they spend it on their children's health and education], because of the extra leverage it affords them within the family, and because of the direct effects of greater knowledge and awareness, female education has an enormous social impact.* (in King and Hill, 1993, pg. vii)

Accumulating evidence would suggest that efforts should be made to promote girls' access to education and to ensure that a girl continues her schooling as long as possible. Three basic issues relating to this have been addressed by the development sector. One is girls' access to schooling. The second is retention—the degree to which girls remain in school. The third has to do with the quality of the experience and what is being learned. Considerable effort has gone into the development of strategies and techniques in relation to all three of these issues.

In countries around the globe, the accessibility issue has been addressed not only by building schools closer to where children live, but also through such strategies as increasing the number of female teachers in places where parents do not send their daughters to school if the teacher is male. To increase retention

UNICEF 4974 Jorgen Schytte

Providing a fair start to girls as well as boys.

and quality: written materials are being reworked to represent boys and girls more equitably and curriculum is being redesigned to provide material of greater interest to girls. Training is aimed at helping teachers to become more aware of their own gender biases and the way teachers reinforce gender differentiation. These efforts have had only marginal success. One of the reasons for limited success is that many of the efforts address the issue of gender equity at the age which girls could enter primary school. This is too late.

Realizing the need to begin earlier, some countries have created community-based pre-school programmes as a strategy for creating gender equity in education. These have proved moderately effective in:

- *providing a fair start to girls as well as boys.* It is not unusual to find that there is an equal number of boys and girls in pre-school programmes. At this entry point into the educational system, boys and girls appear to be attending on a par with one another.
- *helping parents better perceive the capabilities of the girl child, leading to a longer period of schooling.* When parents see that girls are just as capable of learning as boys, they are more likely to understand the value of education for their daughter. Also, if the girl has been released from household chores in order to attend pre-school, parents are more likely to continue that arrangement if they come to value girls' attendance at school.
- *increasing the probability that girls will enter and remain in primary school.* A positive early childhood experience also helps girls see that they can learn and reinforces their interest in attending primary school. Research on the Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) programme in India indicates that girls who have attended the ICDS programme are more likely to both enter primary school and to continue in it than girls who did not attend the ICDS programme. (Lal & Watt, 1986)
- *providing role models of what women are able to do.* The great majority of adults working in early childhood programmes are women. They provide role models for a young girl in terms of what she might be able to achieve as an adult. The more status and prestige those working in ECCD programmes have, the more effective they will be in providing girls with positive role models.

Children are well tracked into gender roles by the time they enter a pre-school. UNICEF 509 Colombia

However, simply creating an ECCD programme is not enough. The benefits of ECCD programmes can only be obtained if they are designed with an understanding of the culture. When young girls and boys enter the classroom they bring their early socialization experiences with them. In most cultures, children are well tracked into socially acceptable gender roles by the time they enter a pre-school. It is critical to have a better understanding of the events that have shaped the child during the earliest months and years of life, and to be able to answer such questions as: How are girls and boys raised? What does each child bring with her or him as a foundation for learning and development? What type of psycho-social stimulation has the child received, and what type of socialization has he or she undergone? What are the cultural variables that play a part in determining whether or not a girl will go to school, and what she will seek to gain from the experience? What do parents and the community feel they will lose and/or gain through the girl's (and boy's) education?

The disciplines of cross-cultural psychology, anthropology, developmental psychology, and medicine, among others, have brought to light the ways in which cultures socialize their children, and the values, attitudes and beliefs that are brought to bear in the raising of children. Research on childrearing practices indicates that there are differences in how children are raised from one culture to another, and between how boys and girls are raised within many cultures.[2] Thus, the first step is to try to understand more about young children's (boys and girls) experiences during the early years, and to determine the obstacles to equity.

While it would be ideal if everyone working in a given community had the time and skills to conduct in-depth studies in order to have a better understanding of the dynamics within a given setting, the reality is that most planners and programme people lack the resources to carry out such studies. They need a way to gain some understanding of the culture, not through an outsider's assessment of community needs, but from the perspective of the community itself. The Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) methodology, while requiring training of the implementation team, offers a good tool to help communities map their interests and values. Like any research method, it requires skill and sensitivity on the part of the implementors. However, its advantage lies in its ability to empower communities to identify their own concerns, goals, and even biases, and to practice the process of addressing them collaboratively.

Background on the Studies

Through a grant to the Consultative Group on Early Childhood Care and Development (CCG)[3], studies of gender socialization during the early years were fund-

[2] See *Coordinators' Notebook*, issue #15, on Childrearing Practices.

[3] From USAID, and with the participation of the Education Development Center (EDC), the InterAmerican Development Bank (IDB), Save the Children (SC) and UNICEF.

ed in six countries: *Morocco, Mali, Bolivia, India, Indonesia and Jamaica*.[4] Funds for the study allowed several activities to take place. Researchers began by conducting a literature review (inclusive of anthropological, psychological, sociological, health and nutrition, and education studies) related to gender socialization in their country. While in many of the countries there exists a body of knowledge related to gender differences for children from primary-school age and upward, only a few studies yielded information about gender-specific socialization practices for very young children. The information gathered was shared at a workshop held in April 1996. The literature review revealed many questions that need to be addressed in order to have a better understanding of gender differentiation during the early years.

To gather this information, the researchers worked together to develop a PLA (Participatory Learning and Action) Protocol, that was then used in all six countries to gather information in relation to the gaps in knowledge.[5] Some of the researchers had used this methodology in previous studies; for others it was a new technique. The researchers did field work between May and December of 1996. Where possible, they worked with local non-governmental agencies that were already active in the communities selected for inclusion in the study. This had several advantages. First, the individuals coming into the village were not complete strangers; the NGO staff were known to the community. Second, there was greater potential for follow-up with an action plan, since the local NGO would continue to work with the community. Third, participation in the study helped raise the local NGO's awareness of gender issues.

Once data were gathered and analyzed, the researchers involved in the study had an opportunity to share their results with each other. This took place at a week-long workshop held in Washington D.C., January 20–24, 1997[6]. During the workshop, each researcher presented the results of her or his study, both in terms of the data gathered, and in assessing the effectiveness of the PLA methodology. There was then a general discussion and the group jointly derived a set of conclusions.

In sum, the project was designed to do two things: to assess the use of PLA as a process for gathering data on early childhood experiences, and to gather data on gender socialization that could be used for the purposes of programme planning. The studies provided rich data on both.

PLA (Participatory Learning and Action)

PLA represents a step in the evolution of a methodology that began in the 1970s as RA (Rapid Appraisal). The technique was developed by Robert Chambers as a way of gaining a timely, relevant and cost-effective assessment of conditions within a community. This assessment was then used in the design of rural development projects. The technique drew from methods of participatory research, applied anthropology, and field research on farming systems, and soon became known as RRA (Rapid Rural Appraisal). While the local community was an active participant in the early forms of RRA, the technique was basically created for the use of outsiders who came and gathered information, then took it away to design what they saw as an appropriate project. Over time, more and more control for the process was shifted to the community, and it then became known as PRA (Participatory Rural Appraisal). More recently, as there has been a shift from simply using the technique as a diagnostic tool to using it in actually developing a project with community participation, it has become known as PLA (Participatory Learning and Action). When it is done well, those from outside the community come as learners, conveners, catalysts, and facilitators of the community's definition of needs. Then they work with the community to design a plan of action to meet those needs.

Within PLA, various methods are used to assist communities in 'telling their own story'. These methods come from social anthropology. They include a mapping of the community (housing, health facilities, schools, churches/mosques, water sources, etc.), focus groups, semi-structured interviews, diagrams and pictures, time lines (local history, seasonal diagraming), matrices, ranking of variables, as well as direct observation. The time frame for carrying out these activities varies, but the process is most commonly carried out in one to three weeks. The best results are achieved when a multi-disciplinary team is created, with each individual bringing a different perspective to the study. (See inset on page 6 for brief descriptions of the techniques used.)

[4] Within the countries, the number of communities that were studied varied: in Morocco, Mali, and Jamaica, one community was selected for study. In Bolivia, two communities were studied; in India four communities were studied; and in Indonesia the researcher analyzed five pre-existing data sets rather than using the PLA protocol.

[5] Eileen Kane assisted in the process. As a reference, we used her book, *Seeing for Yourself: Research Handbook for Girl's Education in Africa*. Washington, DC: Economic Development Institute of the World Bank, 1995.

[6] This workshop was funded by ABEL2 through EDC with funds from AID/HRD.

Early Childhood Care and Development PLA Protocol

The following activities are taken from the Protocol created by our team of researchers. The Protocol is an adaptation of the one developed by Eileen Kane for *But Can She Eat Paper and Pencil?*, for UNICEF Eritrea (1996). The questions and methods below are distilled to give readers a flavour of the activities. To implement them skillfully it is important to have training in the use of PLA methodology, and to adapt the methods to the particular community's interests, communication style, literacy level, and self-awareness. There is a logical flow to these activities, from the general to the specific, with each progressive task building greater group trust and sharing. However, you may not need to use each activity in every setting.

1. Community Map Using a clear space on the ground or on a floor, invite people to create a map of their community. A good way to start is to draw the main road or some other important feature and then to hand over the stick to the community to draw the map themselves. Once people have drawn in important landmarks, resources, and houses, they can use stones or other markers to identify who lives where and who does what. One person on the team then acts as a "map recorder" to transfer the data to paper, a copy of which is given to the community.

2. Well-being (Card Sort) Write the names of (or symbols for) each family on cards. Gathering a small group of people from the community, tell them your interest is in finding out whether people have a comfortable and secure life in the community. Read out the names on the cards (about five at a time) and ask them to determine, *"Who would be the most comfortable and secure, and who would be least?"* Continue this sorting process, asking if there are four or five groups that might be created. Invite your discussion group to come up with names for each of their groups/categories, then discuss what people are like in each group, what makes them alike, and what makes them different.

3. Life Stages (Time Lines) Draw a line on the ground (or a culturally appropriate symbol for the life span; it might be a circle or some other form). Put in some age markers, such as "birth, before school, youth, young adult, older adult, elder, end of life." (Make sure they are age categories that make sense in that culture.) Invite people in your community group to mark important stages or turning points that people go through and discuss them briefly. Then create a time line (circle, etc.) for children, from birth to approximately six years of age, and encourage the group to identify key markers in each age period. Use this activity to invite community members to identify and name stages of young children's development as they perceive them, to identify the characteristics of each stage, and to look at both variations among children, as well as the ways the stages are similar and different for girls and boys. Record their observations, then conduct a Focus Group (see item #9 below) to verify the observations, make changes, note exceptions and explore the implications of their data.

4. What Promotes Well-Being? (Comparison Activity) Showing two pictures, one of a child who appears to be healthy, happy and active, and a second of a child who is sickly, thin and appears to lack energy, ask the community group, *"How are these children different?"* and *"What does this one (the sickly child) need in order to be more like this one (the healthy child)?"* Out of this discussion, create a list of things that children need in order to flourish (using symbols in non-literate groups). Have the group rank each of these needs, most important to least. Then ask the group to address the needs in relation to boys and girls: *"With each of these needs, who is more likely to get them met, the boy or the girl?"* Group members can allocate 10 stones for each item, dividing them between girls and boys. A follow-up discussion can focus on the question, "Given these needs, how is each one met?" Group members can note next to each need the answers to these questions: *"Who satisfies this need?"* and *"Who is responsible for meeting these needs?"*

5. What Children Need to Know (Focus Group Discussion) Convening groups that are appropriate to the culture, either mixed gender, single gender, mixed ages or peer groups (or all of these), explore the question: *"What do children need to know?"* Symbolize/record all suggestions and comments. With each response, ask group members to identify whether girls or boys need to know this more, less, or the same. They might weigh each quality by allocating 1-10 stones to it, and then do it for girls, and again for boys. Once the group has generated its lists, invite participants to select the 6-10 things it is most important for boys to know, and the 6-

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10 things that girls should know, and then rank order the items if they can. A follow-up activity is to "interview the matrix" created from the first comparison by asking the question, *"Who helps boys learn these things?"* and *"Who helps girls learn these things?"* Again, invite the group to discuss, weigh and rank their ideas.

The phrase "interview the matrix" refers to examining the matrix and adding a new column or row to deepen the information. Thus, once you have created a baseline matrix, you can expand it by conducting a follow-up discussion (often one that goes into more depth or adds a new dimension of information). Then you can add a new column or row to the matrix, and fill in the extra information. For example, after creating a matrix that provides a rank order of what boys need to know, you might interview the matrix by adding a column to show who is responsible for teaching boys those things. An example comes from India. In response to the question of what boys and girls needed to know, the group generated separate lists and rank ordered the items, beginning with what was most important. After that they interviewed the matrix by answering the question: *"Who teaches boys these things?"* and *"Who teaches girls these things?"* The results are presented in the matrix that follows.

WHAT BOYS NEED TO KNOW	WHO TEACHES THEM		
	Mother	Father	Brother/Sister
Speak well	■	■	■
Learn to read and write	■	■	■
Give respect to elders	■	■	
Good behaviour/relationships	■		
Farming		■	
Preparing cattle feed	■		
Cattle grazing	..... *learns by himself*		
Help parents in work		■	
Pooja	■		
How to eat food/wash/clean	■		
Drive a tractor		■	

WHAT GIRLS NEED TO KNOW	WHO TEACHES THEM		
	Mother	Father	Brother/ Sister
Speak well	■	■	■
To cook well	■		
Recognize and respect others	■		
Helping in the housework	■		
Pooja	■		
Keep clean	■		
Sing *bhajan* (religious song)	■		
Have a good character	■		
Good relationship with in-laws	■		
Farming	■	■	
Help in care of siblings	■		
Alphabets, counting, poems, songs	■		■
How to go to shop for purchases	■	■	

6. Characteristics of Children 5–6 years of age (Creating a Chart) Beginning with a group discussion of the question, "*What are children 5-6 years of age like?*", the objective is to get an idea of what the community thinks young children are like, how they should behave, and what is done to socialize children to the appropriate behaviours. Have someone record in words or symbols the various suggestions. Using 10 stones for each item, group members can rank how true each characteristic is for girls and boys.

Then, a second activity is to explore, for each gender, "*What are the characteristics of "good" and "bad" children?*" It is useful to focus on one gender at a time: "*What is a good girl like?*" and "*What is a bad girl like?*" Then items can be rank ordered within each list, and the two lists can be compared.

A third activity is to explore rewards and punishments. Starting with the question, "*When are children praised?*", help the group to make a chart, listing the responses in the left column, and comparing, using 10 stones, whether boys or girls are more likely to get praised for this activity. Follow up by interviewing the matrix: "*Who is most likely to give praise and how?*" A similar matrix can be created addressing the question of "*When are children punished?*"

7. Daily Rounds (Small Group Interview) The objective is to get an understanding of what children do during the day and who is responsible for them during that time. This small group interview can be done with 6-year-olds, as well as with adults or youth. Identifying a child approximately 4 years of age in the community, ask, "*What kinds of thing would a girl _____'s age do during the day? What does she do when she first gets up? What does she do next?*", etc.

Beginning with the time children usually wake up, create a time chart, listing activities in relation to each time of day. Invite the group to list possible caregivers or people responsible for that 4-year-old. Then, noting caregivers across the top of the matrix, and activities of the four-year-old down the left hand side, give the group 20 markers for each activity to decide which caregivers are most responsible for each moment of the four-year-old's day. A separate matrix can be created for four-year-old boys, four-year-old girls, six-year-old boys, and six-year-old girls.

8. Caregiver/Early Childhood Program Observations (Observation Checklist) This activity helps you to identify the amounts and types of interactions between teachers/caregivers and boy and girl children. Are boys responded to differently than girls? Are they talked to in different ways? Use a checklist form that has across the top: "teacher listening to boy", "teacher listening to girl", "teacher talking to boy", "teacher talking to girl". Include some categories of talk: "teaching/explaining", "asking a question", "praising a child", "verbally punishing a child". Then, use this form for a given time block when the teacher is interacting with the children. If you have longer observation time, you can actually track how much time during the day the teacher is interacting with children. At 30-second intervals, note what the teacher is doing (talking, listening, to whom and how) across a single line of your form. Simply tick what is happening, then jot down any comments you might want to add. At the end of the observation block, you will have a chart showing roughly the range and nature of interactions. It is useful to do this exercise at different 10-minute blocks of time during the day to get a clear picture of both the type and amount of adult-child interaction.

9. Follow-up Activities (Focus Groups and Key Informant Interviews) Using the matrices, lists, charts, maps, and observations generated in other activities, it is useful to follow up by working with focus groups and/or key informants. Focus groups are not simply question and answer sessions. They are a set of carefully chosen key issues (that emerged from the community's participation), that are presented to a group which is in some way homogeneous. The group then discusses the issues, rather than simply answering a set of questions from the interviewer. Focus groups allow you to gain perspective on an issue from sub-groups in the community—older women, younger women, children, elders, etc. Key informants are individuals who may have an interesting or unusual perspective to share—because they are older and have been around a long time, because they are the exception to the rule, because people mention them as leaders or outcasts, etc. (Children and youth, too, make interesting key informants.) Asking them to comment on or explain some of the results of earlier exercises often yields insights and deeper understanding of the culture and community practices.

Data are gathered prior to the visit to give the team some basic information on the community. During the visit, time is structured so that a variety of methods can be employed in gathering information and to cross-check what has been discovered. As information is collected, it is used to modify the process. Thus it is important for the team to build in time at the end of each day to meet with each other, to discuss what they have learned, and then design activities to gain additional information and/or check on ideas that have come up during the day.

The spirit of inventiveness which has gone with PLA is spreading, and helping people in different parts of the world to feel liberated and able to develop their own varieties of approach and method. People (local and outsiders), once they have unfrozen and established rapport, enjoy improvising, varying and inventing methods. Chambers, 1993

A key to successful use of the technique is the personal behaviour and attitudes of the team members. This includes the ability to be self-critical, and to learn from mistakes. It requires respecting the people one is working with and having confidence in their ability to undertake the task. It involves sitting with and listening to others, not lecturing. It involves 'handing over the stick' to community members who become the main teachers and analysts.

The ultimate goal is to grasp an insider's perspective on the community and to understand the community as a whole. The process can be enjoyable for all involved, and it can yield useful information.

While PLA is a very rich tool in terms of providing relevant and timely data at a relatively low cost, there are drawbacks to the technique.

–The validity of the information can be questioned.

While the PLA process can ensure that a variety of opinions are expressed, it does not provide data on the percentage of the population represented by that particular point of view.

–The reliability of the data can be questioned. PLA does not necessarily provide a 'true' picture of what is happening in a village.

The community will make an assessment of who the researcher is and what he or she represents. They may well shape their responses accordingly. A comment by the researcher in Morocco points out some of the difficulties.

Drawing the map, putting all the inhabitants of the community on it, seeking information about household characteristics, etc., made the participants very suspicious. Even when we explained, they continued to maintain a great confusion between the researcher and the Government employees, especially those who work in the Finance or Agriculture Ministries. For people to trust you and to develop a mutual acquaintance needs time.

In addition to the issue of trust, there are people's expectations to take into account. Would the community discuss things in the same way if they thought you were there to build them a school, or provide loans for micro-enterprise projects, or simply to gather data with nothing coming back to the community? The researcher from India comments, "As word spread around amongst the villagers about what we were inquiring about, at times it seemed that they were giving answers which they thought would be more acceptable to us."

– While PLA can help enrich understanding, it does not provide information on the extent or pervasiveness of an issue, nor does it provide data from which generalizations can be made about a given population.

When quantitative data are available to provide such generalized information, then PLA can help add depth to your understanding. For example, in the case of Bolivia, researchers had national statistics and two research studies available to them before they began working in the communities. Statistical data were provided by the National Institute of Statistics (INE). The two research projects provided information on child development and ways of punishing children in different communities. Data for these two studies were collected through closed-ended questionnaires. The PLA process verified the research findings and provided a rich description of what had been found before. In addition, it facilitated the discovery of details that enhanced understanding and allowed for community participation in the process. The difference between the research projects and the PLA method is reflected in what one women in El Chaco said, "We never participated in this manner to know who lives here and who goes to school. The information was always taken from us, without our real participation."

Apart from these caveats, it is important to note that PLA is a useful tool when a description is required, and when what is sought is an understanding of attitudes, practices and beliefs. It can help one understand quantified data already available on a community, and it is useful when the aim is to generate suggestions or recommendations, or when there is a need to generate questions for subsequent study. In the studies undertaken in this project, PLA served a particularly useful role in generating questions that require further investigation.

The Use of the Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) Methodology

Those who were to be involved in the Gender Study spent a week receiving training in the application of PLA. Together they designed a format (Protocol) they would use as a basis for initiating the PLA process within a community. Due to the researchers' relative lack of experience with the techniques, they worked together as a group to define a rather limited set of methods they would employ. People were encouraged to adapt and expand on these as their situation required. (A summary of the Protocol used can be found on page 6.)

Experience with the Protocol varied. The researchers who had used the technique previously (from Jamaica and Mali) applied the techniques with ease and were comfortable making the adaptations they felt were necessary. In India, Bolivia, and Morocco, the researchers had no prior experience with the technique. As a result, there was much closer adherence to the Protocol that they had designed jointly. In Indonesia, PLA was not used. The researcher there had several data sets that had not previously been analyzed by gender; given the extent of these data, it was decided that she would work with them rather than generate new data through PLA.

During the January 1997 workshop, where the studies were discussed, time was allocated to an assessment of the PLA process. The researchers' comments on PLA which follow have been grouped around several themes: the importance of the team and training; the importance of respecting the culture and using the techniques flexibly; the applicability and appropriateness of techniques; the impact of the process on the community; and an evaluation of the technique from the point of view of the researcher.

■ The importance of the team and training

One of the characteristics of PLA is that it is carried out by a team of researchers. Within PLA, considerable judgement is required on the part of those engaged in the process. Having a team work together helps to overcome the particular bias of any one individual. One of the first tasks undertaken within each country was the selection of people to work together in the gathering of data. In all instances, the Principal Researcher determined the qualities and characteristics desired in the team and selected people based on an assessment of their ability to use and learn from the PLA method. Each team had both male and female researchers, and most of the teams included members of the community. For example, in Mali, each team member was paired with a community liaison who facilitated the team's work in the community.

The teams received 3 to 5 days of training from the Principal Researcher before they began working on site. They worked together to translate the Protocol from English to the local language and discussed the various items thoroughly in order to have an understanding of why a given activity was being used. While doing the field work, teams met each day to review what had occurred and to plan for the following day. This process was another form of training. Through the process team members became aware of their own gender biases. They could see how these biases could influence the ways in which they interacted with the community.

However, no matter how good or long the initial training, actual field work is the best teacher. As noted by the Moroccan researcher, "The field work was a good adviser and the best critic. It helped us to bring another view to this method and to adapt it to our context."

■ The importance of respecting the culture, adapting the techniques and being flexible

As noted by the researcher from Mali, "You do not go into a village and leave it as if you had never been there. It is important to observe cultural courtesies and to move through your time in the community in a respectful way. You must *follow the road*." Thus, while you may come into the village with some ideas about the kinds of things you want to learn and the activities that you might engage in with people, it is important to be open to how they are responding to the activities and what they are suggesting. Flexibility is key.

The flexibility of the method allows the team to employ a wide variety of techniques to achieve depth on a given topic, but this may lead to undue emphasis on a given topic, and no information on others. The Moroccan experience provides some insight into the issue:

> *While we were focusing in this study on the early childhood treatment and perception of children from a gender perspective, the community emphasized other issues which were more relevant to their daily life and detrimental to their future. The main issues were: youth unemployment, the plight of unmarried women, the high dropout rate, especially at the secondary level, and the lack of schooling for girls. The community claimed that modern pre-schools will facilitate the integration of girls and boys into primary school.*

Were they perhaps anticipating help in building a pre-school? This is a good example of a situation in which it is useful to clarify the community's expectations of the researcher and the process before beginning, and for the researchers to explain their expectations of and contributions to the community.

In order to 'stay on track' while remaining flexible, it is critical to have many opportunities for reflection and self-assessment while moving through the process. The daily team meetings, which were a time for discussion and revision, allowed for the introduc-

UNICEF 4809 Edgar Koh

One strategy within PLA is to work with groups of people.

tion of new ideas and strategies while serving as a check on the overall process.

■ PLA techniques—their applicability and appropriateness

Community mapping and the use of stones
One of the activities planned in the Protocol was to do a mapping as a way to gain an understanding of the community and to engage community members in a dialogue. It was suggested that people begin by literally drawing a map of the community on the ground and filling it in using stones or other found materials to represent people and households. This approach worked well for some. For others, there were difficulties.

The experience with community mapping and the use of stones had an interesting twist in Mali. Among the Bambara, the culture studied, people believe that the ground is sacred and stones are used only for divination. Only the Wise man within the village can draw on the ground and use stones. So there, community mapping was not done on the ground. Being a culture with a strong oral tradition, people were able to complete the map in their heads.

In Morocco, community mapping was not done on the ground either, but for a different reason. The researcher reported,

> *Asking rural people to draw a community map with stones or seeds seemed not only amazing, but it felt childish. When we explained this method and demonstrated it, one of the assistants from the community said, "You are using the stones with us because we are illiterate. But we have our children, brothers, who have attended school and can speak and answer you in your language".*

In that setting they chose to draw the map on paper, using pencil and ink.

Stones were not only used in community mapping, they were also used to have people physically rank order and prioritize their responses. Again, there was mixed reaction to this method. The researcher from Bolivia commented,

> *A positive element of PLA is the use of stones to indicate whether a particular aspect was more likely for boys or for girls, or as a way of calculating the percentage of time a caregiver provided to the child. These icons not only provided a means of quantifying and qualifying the data, but it also facilitated the discussion around a particular subject and its analysis.*

In Jamaica, people found it superfluous to use stones to determine percentages. They suggested using a calculator!

Working with groups of people Many of the PLA activities involve working with people in groups. These groups are generally composed of different kinds of individuals. For example, in Morocco there were 10 groups formed. The researcher describes them as follows:

Group 1. *The first group included 9 people, 6 women (from young to middle-aged) and 3 men, one of whom was unmarried. It was the first contact with the community. I presented the subject of the research, the method I was supposed to use, and what was expected from the participants.*

Group 2. *In the second group 35 persons were assembled, 15 men and 20 women of different ages and socio-economic status. The discussion was focused on describing the community.*

Group 3. *The third group brought together 8 persons, 3 men and 5 women, among them the richest couple of the village. The meeting was reserved to complete some information concerning the community, and to define the other target groups I planned to work with in the next few days.*

Group 4. *The fourth group was composed of 9 young women who had children between one or two months and 6 years. They worked with us to define the stages of a child's life, the children's activities, and to illuminate how they perceive their surroundings.*

Group 5. *The fifth group was male only, 7 men, old and young, all married, who all debated the preceding issues.*

Group 6. *For the sixth group, 10 women gathered from different age groups, some of them were grandmothers. They discussed the children's daily rounds, identifying the daily activities of boys and girls who are 4 or 6 years old.*

Group 7. *The seventh group included 8 young girls, who were between 13 and 20 years old. These girls are caretakers for their young brothers and sisters. We engaged in the same debate with them.*

Group 8. *The eighth group brought together 4 nurses and one female doctor who are responsible for the child service in the Public Health Center which serves the community. The discussion revolved around children's health in rural areas, gender perceptions, and the relationships between mothers and children.*

Group 9. *The ninth group consisted of three primary school teachers from the two first classes. The discussion focused on the learning capacity of rural children, their adaptation to the cur-*

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Using PLA there is more participation by the community.

riculum, and the parents' attitudes towards school and the schooling of girls.

Group 10: *The tenth group consisted of local officials. We spoke about the economic and social aspects of the community, examined the current infrastructure, and the new projects being created to benefit the community, and especially what they would do for children under 6 years of age.*

Group work is not easy. As noted by the researcher from India, "Although group participation is one of PLA's positive aspects, it is also a negative. Time demands make it hard for the community to stay together as a whole or in small groups for very long periods of time. This aspect made it difficult to delve further into some of the issues." She also noted that once groups were formed and people grew comfortable with each other, it was difficult to create new groups, although there were times it would have been useful to have additional groupings in order to ensure a wider range of perspectives on an issue.

The Moroccan researcher also commented on the group process. She stated:

People in the rural areas are always busy. When you have a couple in the discussion group you cannot keep them both for a long time. People were always changing and on the move within the group. One person went out and came back 10 or 15 minutes later, new ones entered every 10 or 20 minutes. With the shifts in people it was necessary to provide those who were returning with updates of the discussion, and review what had been discussed in order to involve the new participants in the matter, in order for them to feel comfortable giving their points of view.

Even with these difficulties, all the researchers worked with groups and found them useful in setting the agenda and providing insights not gained through one-on-one interviews. Researchers were able to build on what one group provided, cross-checking and elaborating on the information with other groups. In addition, the use of single-sex groups in most settings gave women a voice that they might not otherwise have had in mixed sex groups.

■ The experience from the perspective of the community

As noted earlier, community members feel much more a part of the process through PLA than when they are asked to be respondents within other research methodologies. Nonetheless there are still constraints. A comment from India:

Communities which have been the subject of much research tended to be much more reticent to respond to our interaction with them, and were generally less curious. Throughout our research, men's interaction with the research team was far more formal than women's. Female researchers were able to relax over a cup of tea with their female respondents and were able to create an atmosphere of 'openness', relating to each other as

women. The male researchers were never alone with their male respondents to establish a similar rapport. Children were open with the research teams throughout.

On the whole, women seemed to enjoy their discussions with us and very often interesting personal anecdotes were related. Their responses seemed to be more frank than the men's who were very conscious while talking to us. For the men it seemed as if they were fulfilling some kind of obligation toward guests who had come to their village (especially among the men's group belonging to the higher socio-economic class of the village).

Thus, a community's previous experience with researchers, even those using PLA, influences their willingness to engage in yet another research project. Key factors include the extent to which trust can be established and what the community gains from the experience. Given time and an open attitude, trust can be established.

■ The experience from the perspective of the research team

Many for whom this was a new experience saw great value in the PLA approach. The following comment from Bolivia reflects a personal experience of one of the team members who works in the social sector.

I think that this methodology is very manageable, even by the community. You can obtain data which can not be obtained through other techniques, such as surveys or interviews. There is more participation by the community and those involved. It does not exclude nonliterate people.

Another comment, also from Bolivia, emphasized the enthusiasm which is generated through the PLA process.

The non-written forms of communication permitted the participation of the old, the young, the men and the women alike. They laughed at the pictures, enjoyed drawing them, and made the pictures and data their own. The use of the corn and bean seeds to represent boys, girls, men and women, facilitated the "telling of their story" and the clarification of information.

Community representatives in Bolivia also saw the benefits of PLA. In referring to the activities of community members it was noted:

As they drew the pictures on the ground, they commented on what boys and girls were like before and now. It provided something concrete from which one could expand the information presented.

In India, one of the NGOs with which the researcher was working focused its work solely on women. Through the study, the NGO was involved in working with men in the community as well. As a result, they realized the importance of working with the whole community—men and women. The researcher from India also noted that many of the team members had to address their own gender biases as a result of exploring gender socialization issues with communities.

One researcher commented on the fact that PLA changes the role of the Researcher. She noted:

By using PLA, you lose your status as researcher. You are within the community, you are helping the groups to reveal their way of life, as well as their perceptions and aspirations. People you are working with trust you, believe that you can do something to improve their lives and their children's lives. Some of them speak confidentially to you about their own problems (family planning, children's education and health, failure at school, etc.).

In essence, people are much more open when using PLA. This requires researchers to relate to the community in a much different way than they do when filling more formal roles.

All the researchers expressed frustration at the limited time available to undertake the study. They expressed a desire to return to the communities to provide feedback, and in the majority of instances, to work with the village to create an action plan in collaboration with a local non-governmental agency.

The PLA experience was summarized well by the researcher from Morocco. She stated:

Of course, PLA is not a recipe, it depends on a regular contact with the community since it is an open exchange within the community. A successful PLA ... requires going to the field with some projects and one or two questions, and letting the community be free to orient the study, to decide their priorities, and emphasize the different actions they want to lead. This flexible method can be used as a tool in the hand of the politicians, researchers and the community. ... The principal aim is to empower the community and to incite the different age and gender groups to participate equally in building the future of the community.

As Sweetser (1997) noted, "In evaluating one's own work, it is sometimes better to ask, 'Have we created or discovered new questions?' 'Have we expanded the framework for understanding?' rather than simply, 'Have we added new information?'" As will be seen in the following section, many new questions have been discovered through this initial set of gender studies.

Findings from the Study

Each of the studies produced a wide variety of rich data. It is impossible to do them justice in the amount of space available. (See the pages 28 to 55 for some highlights of each study.) For the purposes of this article, we have identified some of the findings that were common across all the studies. In presenting this information, we have tried to be sensitive to the fact that gender-specific forms of labour or behaviour within a culture may not be seen as alienating or discriminatory by the people within that culture. Thus, we have attempted to identify local expectations of boys and girls without an overlay of judgement about an ideal form of "equality."

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The Socialization Process

Before discussing the study results, it is useful to provide an overview of what is understood about the socialization process in general. Based on a review of literature dealing with childrearing practices, Myers and Evans (1997), argue:

- Children, in whatever setting, have general physical, social and emotional needs that require responses from others.
- The specific ways in which these general needs manifest themselves, and the childrearing practices adopted to meet these needs, differ widely from place to place and from caregiver to caregiver.
- Childrearing practices are influenced by the context—the geophysical, political, social and economic characteristics of the nation and region—and by available technologies.
- On the individual level, childrearing practices are determined by beliefs, values and norms, and by the characteristics and knowledge of particular caregivers.
- In a rapidly changing world, it is difficult for cultures to adjust their norms and practices to fluctuating conditions. Increasingly, beliefs, values, norms and practices no longer fit well with current conditions. This can work against the sound rearing and development of children.
- Rapid change has produced a move away from so-called *traditional* and family-centered practices. As these trends and changes are judged, it is important not to equate "modern" with "good" and "traditional" with "outmoded" or "bad," or vice versa. Rather, if we are to retain the good practices from traditional systems and to develop quality child care that promotes equity, we will need to be much more systematic in our assessments and much more open to the potential advantages of both the new and the old systems.

It is within this general understanding of socialization that the results of the six studies are presented.

Overview of the Attitudes, Beliefs and Practices that Shape Gender Identity

Preferences. *The degree of preference for having a son over having a daughter differed across the countries. Parents in all the countries studied desire sons. The birth of a son is considered to be a positive event, this is not necessarily true for the birth of a daughter.*

Through a variety of focus group discussions, people were asked about their preferences in terms of sons and daughters, and why they preferred one over the other.

The extreme at one end of the scale is India, where a girl child is tolerated, at best (the birth of a girl child is celebrated in only 2% of families). Jamaica is at the other end of the scale, with parents stating that they prefer daughters, although they also desire sons. In Bolivia and Indonesia, there seem to be equal preference for daughters and sons, and in Mali and Morocco sons are preferred, although daughters are also valued.

In India, girls are less desirable because upon marriage they leave their birth home. In addition, families have to pay a dowry when their daughters marry. As the researcher noted, "While girls give more solace to the mother because they are the ones who look after the mother more than the boys, it is the birth of the boy that brings more joy because a girl is *paraya dhan* (someone else's property/wealth). The name of the family continues only with the boy." In the tribal village studied, the women welcomed girls more because at the time of marriage it is the boy's family which has to make a payment to the girl's family. However, girls then go to live in another house. A boy, they felt, would stay with the family for life, and they could lean on him in their old age.

Statements of preferences do not tell the full story. The behaviour in relation to the actual birth of a son or daughter is a much better indicator of preference. In the non-tribal village in India, the birth of a boy brings much happiness; expensive sweets are distributed, and celebrations include a band and fireworks. By contrast, at the birth of the girl (firstborn) only sugar and sugar lumps are distributed. An announcement is made on the public microphone (this is usually done after the birth of the first child, or the birth of a son), or the whole community is informed by trumpeting and beating on a *thali* (steel plate) with a spoon. Culturally-oriented festivals, e.g. *chathi* (sixth day viewing), *annaprashan* (first weaning ritual conducted in traditional Hindu families at 6 months), *mundan* (shaving of hair), are all done with pomp and show for boys, but not for girls. The mother is treated with respect after the birth of a son and a *pooja* (thanksgiving prayer) is said because the woman is *shuddh* (pure). Her rest period is also extended and she is given more attention by her family members. One mother commented that she felt weak and listless at the birth of a daughter, and another mother who finally had a boy after three girls commented that she was "now finally at peace".

The child is a gift. The male child is an investment for the future. The female child is just a visitor.

MOROCCO

UNICEF 5736 Nancy McGirr

A variety of family members may be available to meet the needs of young children.

In Morocco, children are seen as the basis of the family. "It is impossible to form a family without children." Children are valued for the security they represent for parents, especially for mothers. Asked about their preference for female or male children, most answered that they do not have any preference. "A child is a gift from God. However, birth rituals, common beliefs, and the division of tasks between children demonstrate that the culture and the community way of life give some preference to male children.

In Mali, opinion varied as to whether or not there was a preference for a male or female child. Some claimed to be indifferent, giving as a reason that males and females complete one another. "A child equals a child." There was also an expression of resignation: "What God sends us must be accepted."

Where there was a preference for male children, the following reasons were given:

- "One needs male children to perpetuate the family."
- "A man without any male heir is considered of a lower status compared to others."
- "A female child works for her mother only."
- "A female child will build another man's home; one needs to not be attached to her."
- "A female child comes and goes, a male comes to stay."
- "One can always get a female though marriage, a male child can never be acquired through such a process."

There were others that stated a preference for a female child. Their comments include:

- "A girl is more useful than a boy to her parents."
- "Good in-laws will take care of the girl's parents if she gets a good marriage."
- "The boy will leave his parents and care for his wife."

Though many people may prefer boys, they appreciate having more girls for dowry reasons. The daughters of the family bring in dowries for their brothers. Cattle are given to the girl's parents.

In sum, opinion in Mali varies from person to person and from household to household as to whether or not males or females are preferred. Some women suggest that they usually prefer girls while men prefer boys, stating, "That's the way it is". What is clear is that a family will not be satisfied with only male children, nor with only female ones; a mixture is considered better. However, to have more sons is considered

to be a special blessing.

Within the Javanese culture in Indonesia, there is an attempt to treat children equally. While studies indicate that both female and male children are equally wanted, some data from a matrilineal subculture show a tendency toward daughter preference.

Behaviour. *Clearly, parents have different values and attitudes regarding male and female children. As a result, children behave differently based on gender, with certain behaviours typical of girls and others typical of boys.*

While within some of the cultures there was considerable leeway for very young children not to take on a gender-associated role, in all the groups studied, by the age of five, children had a clear sense of themselves as 'boys' or 'girls' and a clear understanding of what that meant in terms of behavioural expectations.

> *The role of the girl child is to be a demure, accommodating, and respectful homemaker. A "good" girl of six is one who listens to and respects her adults, helps mother in household chores, and one who stays and plays at home. A "good" boy, on the other hand, is expected to be naughty, to have many friends to play with (outside the home), and not always listen to parents.* INDIA

One clear pattern across the communities involved in the study was that boys are allowed to 'be boys', which essentially means that it is expected that they will be naughty and misbehave, that they will be more physically aggressive than girls, and that they will be disobedient—all of which is acceptable when boys are young. As they become adults, however, their behaviour is expected to change. They are to be responsible, trustworthy, dependable and take on responsibility for the family.

Girls, on the other hand, are expected to behave in more circumscribed ways. There is no time when they are allowed to be free and play in the same way as boys. From an early age, girls take on household chores and are involved in caring for younger siblings. They are given tasks and expected to handle them responsibly without much adult supervision, and certainly without recognition. Early on, they receive training for their role as mothers and keepers of the household. Thus, expectations of what girls should be like now, and what they will do as adults, carries over from the earliest years to later life.

Development. *In terms of developmental 'milestones', girls tend to achieve them earlier than boys.*

One of the topics explored in the study was people's understanding of children's growth and development, and the 'developmental milestones' that they used to mark a child's progress. To begin to address this topic, people in the community created a timeline —from birth to death—and then indicated the significant stages that occurred along the way. They were then asked to discuss if boys and girls progressed in the same way, and if not, how their progression was different.

Within Morocco the stages were broken down into years. What follows is the community's definition of what happens within each of the first six years of life.

■ How children grow during the first year
- *breastfeeding and wrapping up stage*
- *'taking seat'—sitting age*
- *first teeth appear*
- *child creeps*
- *child makes some steps*
- *child babbles*

■ What happens the second year
- *child is generally weaned at 18 months*
- *child eats what the adult eats*
- *child acquires some language skills*
- *child starts to communicate with parents and siblings*
- *mother doesn't carry child on her back*

■ What happens in the third year of life
- *stage of child's integration within the community*
- *child understands others*
- *child can respond if asked questions*
- *child eats with the adults*

■ At the fourth year
- *child goes to the Koranic school*
- *child accompanies his mother or father or siblings everywhere*

■ When he reaches the fifth year
- *child still goes to the Koranic school*
- *child starts to undertake some daily tasks imitating his father or mother*

■ At the sixth year of age
- *the child continues the same activities noted for the five-year-old child*

This then is the general pattern of growth. According to the villagers, however, the girl's growth is different from the boy's growth. For example:

- *girls develop earlier*
- *girls babble and speak before boys*
- *her 'blood is lighter'*[8]
- *she starts to walk earlier than boys*
- *she has a light sleep*

[8] This was not explained further. It would be something to explore in a follow-up discussion.

– she eats less than boys
– she wets her clothes more than boys
– she is more interested in studying than boys

On the other hand,

– boys grow slowly
– boys speak late
– boys are oafish
– boys wake up later than girls
– he has a deep sleep
– he does not wet his clothes often
– he is always wanting to be breastfed or demanding food

In Bolivia, it is interesting to note that people see life as a circle, rather than linear, so a circle was used instead of a line to depict the life span. The following were defined as stages of growth and development. Within the stages differences between boys and girls are noted.

Birth	breast feed (girls are fed sooner, boys do not appear to receive colostrum)
1–3 months	laugh, smile, play, move arms and feet, babble, say ago-ago
4 months	turn around, start complementary foods that are not hard (banana, soup, egg) bottle fed if mother does not have milk
6 months	eat from the family pot
8 months	sit by themselves, crawl on their knees and others scoot on their behinds, stand, depend a lot on food, first teeth appear (they bite the mother's nipple and get stones to bite on)
9–12 mos	walk, play with toys, hold on to the cot (do not know how to sit back down), dance. At 11 months young children begin to fight with brothers, (males show more strength, they are rougher)
1 year	girls play with clay, make little pots. Boys play with balls
2 years	talk, play with other children,walk, dance, give you objects, eat by themselves, throw the animals out. A boy is more of a pest, does not want to accept things. Girls grow sooner physically.
3 years	start preschool (they want to go with their older siblings), have more memory, eat at every moment, they get used to eating fruits, they spend their time looking after the cooking pot. Boys eat more
5–6 years	go to kindergarten or first grade, they get used to an eating schedule, one can tell that the girl has grown more, children buy things by themselves, they play with the ball, go to work with their fathers, they climb trees by themselves, they greet people, go to help in the orchard. Boys go hunting with bows, they need to be watched more. Girls wash clothes already.

The research team in India also worked with different communities to construct life stages. In all four communities, focus group discussions were held with women on their understanding of the life-stages for girls and boys. Overall, the team discovered that men have different perceptions than women about the life stages of children below six years of age, and they place a different importance on some of the stages in comparison to women. In general, women had a much more complete understanding of what occurs at each stage. In addition, girls are generally faster at reaching all the milestones than boys, although the milestones themselves are not different for boys and girls. Following is a list of the stages recorded by the men and the women.

■ Women's responses

1–3 months	cries, recognizes mother, recognizes loved ones, smiles, holds head up, lies on stomach/side, drinks milk, has no eye contact, is dependent on mother
4–6 months	recognizes mother, recognizes loved ones, smiles, starts teething, sits up, crawls, starts weaning, can concentrate, starts turning, starts cooing
7–9 months	teething, sits up, starts standing, crawls, starts walking, holding things
10–12 mos	walks, starts speaking words, asks for things/food
1 year	completes teething, walks, speaks words, starts eating solid foods, can climb stairs
2 years	starts speaking sentences, speaks many words, plays alone and with others, starts running, is possessive of things
3 years	speaks sentences, can be sent to nursery school, asks for things/food, plays alone and with others, follows instructions, knows peoples' names
4 years	can be enrolled in elementary school, plays alone and with others, can do small errands, imitates mother and other adults, dresses her/himself, asks questions, controls excretion
5 years	is enrolled in elementary school, recognizes money, narrates poems and songs, knows good/bad actions
6 years	can get wood, can climb trees, can break small dry twigs, understands responsibilities, bathes her/himself

■ Men's responses:

1–3 months	cries, recognizes mother, recognizes loved ones, acknowledges sound
4–6 months	smiles
7–9 months	teething, crawls, childhood illnesses start, does mundan (shaving of hair)
1 year	crawls, walks, starts speaking words, asks for things/food
2 years	touches/explores new things

3 years	speaks sentences
4 years	plays with others and alone
5 years	becomes *samajhdar* (sensible), can be sent to nursery school
6 years	can be enrolled in elementary school

In Bolivia, India and Morocco, girls were noted to achieve developmental milestones earlier than boys. This was also reported to be true in Indonesia and Jamaica. Mali was an exception. There boys were said to reach developmental milestones before girls. The question is, why do boys in Mali appear to achieve these milestones earlier than girls? One reason may be that in Mali children are 'taught' to achieve these milestones. Boys are expected to sit by three months of age. They are helped along with the process by being seated in containers shaped to support their bodies or by sitting in a nest of clothes that supports them in an upright position. Girls are not expected to sit until four months of age, so it is not until that time that they are given the same kinds of supports and training that boys were given a month earlier.

There is another possible explanation. For the Bambara, numbers have meaning. The number 3 is for boys; 4 is a girl's number. Thus it is not surprising that boys achieve milestones at age three months while girls reach them at four months.

The achievement of some developmental milestones—sitting, crawling, pulling to stand—is quite different in Indonesia. The reason for this is that children are carried until they are seven months of age. Up to that time they are not allowed to be put on the ground, so their movement is more restricted. The constant holding leads to a close mother-child bond.

Socialization. *Socialization of children (through child-rearing techniques and educational practices) reproduces and reinforces "social" gender differences. Women play a primary role in socializing young children; men are not significantly involved with children under the age of five.*

In all the studies there was a discussion of what children need and the things that adults (and older siblings) do to ensure that these needs are met, and that young children learn what is required of them. There was also discussion of who was responsible for teaching children what they need to know.

In Jamaica, the following needs were identified for boys and girls, and those responsible for meeting those needs were noted:

Young Children's Needs	Who Meets Them
proper home training	*parents*
good role model	*same-sex parent*
good education	*parents*
spiritual upbringing	*parents, church, community*
Boys' Needs	**Who Meets Them**
guidance	*parents*
Girls' Needs	**Who Meets Them**
supervision	*mother*
security	*parents, other family members, community*

While there is an emphasis on both parents being able to meet the needs of young children, the reality is that the father is absent in a great majority of the families. Jamaican family structures, particularly among the poor, are often characterized by female-headed households (estimated as representing 30–45% of families). In general there is an unequal contribution of mothers and fathers to child welfare, with mothers having more immediate responsibility for the day-to-day care of children.

In India, women talked about how they treated boys and girls differently and what they thought that meant. The group felt that girls matured faster biologically than boys, and that was why they were ahead on developmental norms. In addition, women felt that girls learned faster because "girls try to behave like their mothers from an early age; they learn to be responsible for their own work much faster than boys." Girls may learn faster because they are treated differently. One mother commented, "We give more love to the boy and look after him more; this means that we carry him around more in our lap, and usually hand feed him. The girl is just given a *roti* to eat and ignored; when she has her food in her hand she will eat it. This is why she learns faster."

Thus, in India, it would appear that girls are left on their own, and as a result, they develop independence. In Jamaica and Indonesia, it was found that mothers are much stricter with their girls than their boys. The reasons for this are quite different. As expressed in Jamaica, "Girls and boys under six can mix and play with their own age group. But if [girls] are playing with older children, they need to be watched because they are too trusting and innocent and can be sexually abused."

In Indonesia, within the matrilineal Minang culture, girls tend to receive more discipline and less warmth than the boys. Since women in Minang culture have high status both within the family and the society, this finding was surprising to the researcher. Her hypothesis is that, "this may be due to the fact that women are expected to be the safeguard of the customary law and cultural ceremonies." Mothers may feel that girls need to be strictly disciplined to take on this role. Boys are more indulged in terms of their behaviour.

Regardless of what boys and girls are expected to do, in all the studies it is the mother who takes on the primary responsibility of socializing the child. In Table 1 are data from Indonesia which show the role that each parent plays in relation to a variety of tasks.

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Table 1—Self-described Parental Role in Child Care

	dominant in child supervision	dominant in helping child's academic study	dominant in teaching manner (child socialization)
JAVANESE (N=395)			
mother	45.1%	28.1%	40.8%
father	8.1%	18.4%	11.3%
both mom and dad	44.3%	31.1%	47.1%
other	2.5%	22.4%	.8%
MINAHASAN (N=201)			
mother	56.2%	46.3%	44.8%
father	6.0%	15.4%	9.0%
both mom and dad	36.3%	18.9%	45.8%
other	1.5%	19.4%	.5%

Source: Megawangi et al. (1994)

In Bolivia, the answer to the question, "Who teaches children the things they need to know?" depends on whether it is a girl or boy. Mothers tend to teach responsibility to girls, fathers do the same with boys. Teachers seem to educate girls much more than they do boys; teachers are responsible for socialization as well (e.g. not fighting, sharing, not being afraid). However, mothers are the primary teachers for boys and girls.

Complementary Roles. *There is a certain balance between male and female roles within the traditional culture that seems to have remained in balance as long as the traditional culture was intact. Traditional culture is used as justification for differential treatment of boys and girls, even when the traditional culture is no longer fully intact.*

> *The first and most important observation is that the poor rural and urban families are locked into a pattern of gender bias in the perceptions and treatment that perpetuate gender role stereotyping. These are rooted in social norms of gender work patterns, which have existed for centuries.* INDIA

The dilemma found in all the groups studied is that complementary sex roles developed historically, and served the cultures at one point in time. Today, as the ground is shifting, it is more and more the case that traditional roles no longer serve individuals or the society. A good summary of the issue is provided from the India study. The researcher writes, "Their gender-based socialization process is not perceived by them as active discrimination, in that it is not effected as a conscious deprivation of the girl from certain rights, but as a necessary socialization of the girl into her future undisputed role in society." She goes on to state,

> *In the process of socializing the girl for her role of homemaker, rural and urban poor families allow girls and boys different things, but do not see this as discrimination. In other words, the perception is that it is the "lot" of the girl to be and act in a certain way, so naturally she must be brought up to fulfill that role adequately for her own good. Certain functions are not important for this role, for example, too much education, and if the girl is brought up more like a boy, then she will be a misfit in society and will suffer later in life. It is therefore for her own good that she must not be allowed certain things, for example expressing her own mind, demanding privileges, laughing too much, being disobedient, and not serving others first. This perception, coupled with the poverty of these families, has meant that girls and boys are brought up differently within the means of the family and [based on] their perceptions of gender work roles.*

Clearly the differential treatment of boys and girls is seen as necessary and important to their survival. From Jamaica comes the following description:

> *Girls' responsibilities are generally heavier than boys, though farming chores mitigated this difference somewhat in [the area studied]. Girls' homebound duties were seen as a strategy of protection and supervision (eventually against early pregnancy), while boys' greater freedom in the world beyond the 'yard' (home space) was seen as a part of a traditional 'toughening' and skill-acquisition strategy.*

In Mali, there is also a tenacity about holding on to traditional ways. In the Mali study the traditional leaders (the village chief and counselors) held firm that work distribution by sex should be respected. "No boy should be feminized; tasks prescribed for boys must remain so." On the other hand, family necessity (i.e. when all the children are boys or all the children are girls) may create favorable conditions for accepting gender shifts in tasks, although there are limits on this (e.g. boys do not engage in cooking; girls are unlikely to go fishing).

In conclusion, the researchers in each of the countries observed that when the balance of power shifts within a culture, people become uneasy. This often has implications for gender roles. In Mali, people express their discomfort by saying, "Women have taken the trousers, men have taken the skirts." It is not clear how this discomfort will play out over time in terms of people's definitions of gender-appropriate behaviour, their ability to support girls' participation in schooling, and their ability to respond to the role shifts dictated by economic and political factors.

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Well-being. *The community's definition of well-being included a variety of dimensions. Formal education is not always among them. Formal education is not necessarily seen as crucial for boys or girls.*

As a part of the PLA process an attempt was made to determine each community's definition of well-being and how they would rank families in relation to this definition. This was done with a small group of people who were asked to describe families in the community and to describe how well they were doing. While in many of the communities people did not understand the concept, or were reluctant to make value judgments about their neighbours in terms of their degree of well-being, eventually most of the communities completed the task.

In the Moroccan village, people were reluctant to use labels such as 'poor' or 'rich'. Instead they came up with the following categories:

1. The "tired" people. These are people who:

- *have empty pockets*
- *have no land or possess a very small plot, less than 2 acres*
- *have no livestock, or own just one cow or 3 to 4 sheep*
- *make profits for the others by working their lands*
- *have irregular jobs*
- *often eat bread and tea only*
- *don't have the means to buy clothes, and when they do they buy the cheapest*
- *cannot feed and clothe their children normally**
- *have no means to pay school fees*
- *are always in debt*
- *need the labor force of their spouse and children to survive.*

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Urbanization can have an impact on children's socialization.

2. People who are getting by. These are people who:

- *work on their own land*
- *possess 8 to 12 acres of land*
- *possess 4 to 8 cows*
- *are the only beneficiaries of their work*
- *have no debts*
- *can pay for their children's education*
- *possess electricity by using batteries*
- *can organize some ceremonies (births, circumcisions, marriages)*

3. People who are living comfortably. These are people who:

- *work for themselves on their own land and have their own livestock*
- *make profits for themselves*
- *possess 10 to 20 acres of land*
- *possess 10 to 20 cows*
- *have people work for them*
- *eat well*
- *buy clothes for the different ceremonies and especially for their children*
- *buy expensive clothes*
- *organize ceremonies for different occasions*
- *possess battery-run electricity*
- *possess a television*
- *educate their children*
- *pay for their children to continue their studies in the city*
- *dominate the scene of the village*

As noted by the researcher: "These characteristics reveal, on the one hand, the social stratification in the village, and on the other hand, the humility within the group. The rich could not speak about their fortune, while the poor are defined as *tired*, and not as disadvantaged or poor."

In Bolivia there were two communities that provided a definition of well-being. In Table 2 there is a definition of well-being from Quilloma. Table 3 shows the ranking from El Chaco.

Table 2—Categorization of Households According to Community Perception of Well-Being: Quilloma

DESCRIPTION OF GROUP	CHARACTERISTICS
First	Hard worker Has livestock, sheep Has property in La Paz and Quilloma and in Patacamaya
Regular	Does not have much livestock Does not know how to work Has property only in Quilloma
Third	Does not have much production Has about the same size property as Regular but has less livestock

According to those who live in El Chaco there are five different categories of well-being, each of them with different characteristics as shown in the following table:

Table 3—Categorization of Households According to Community Perception of Well-Being: El Chaco

DESCRIPTION OF GROUP	CHARACTERISTICS
A	Has a secure life Has a house Has property Is affiliated to the Union Is complete
B	Has less property than A
C	Is not affiliated to the Union The house is located in a dangerous place—at the banks of the river Has property
D	Does not have a house Has property
E	Does not have a house or property

What is interesting in these categories is the information people have not included. According to the Poverty Guide elaborated by the Bolivian Ministry of Human Development[9], the criteria used to define levels of poverty are related to the satisfaction of basic human needs. These basic needs are housing, services, education, and health and social security. The only one of these criteria found within the two communities is housing, with some emphasis on the ability to secure an income. Education is not seen as something that those with well-being have, nor is it seen as a vehicle for achieving well-being. Yet, education, particularly of the mother, was found by the Ministry to make a difference in terms of whether or not young children were attending the early childhood programme and/or attending primary school. Mother's education appears to have a positive effect on the education of boys and girls in the community of El Chaco, where more mothers are educated than in Quilloma. In El Chaco, a larger percentage of boys and girls are in pre-school programs than in Quilloma.

The role of mothers is also important in the education and general development of boys and girls. Mothers from El Chaco teach education concepts to girls more than fathers do. In Quilloma, mothers teach education concepts to girls, but not to boys. Thus, the

[9] República de Bolivia, Ministerio de Desarrollo Humano, Mapa de Pobreza: *Una guía para la acción social*, UDAPSO, INE, UPP, UDAPE, 1993.

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researcher hypothesizes that "Having an educated mother will probably improve the education level of girls." When the community was shown the relationship between the mother's education and the education of the children in the community their response was, "Education is probably in the hands of the mothers. It is important to think of this, and it is especially important for women."

Even though both communities indicated that education was important for boys and girls, differences were encountered when information was cross-checked through a variety of techniques. The community of El Chaco said that both boys and girls need education. However, the value of education was described differently for boys and girls. Boys are told, "You need to study, and know what we know. You need to be better than others." The response for girls was in relation to the girl herself, and she was not motivated to do as well or better than others. She is told, "You do your homework well and you will learn a lot."

In Quilloma, where many more boys than girls (3:1) are enrolled in pre-school programmes, all children are praised for going to school. However, while girls are praised by their mothers and fathers for going to school, boys are praised by their mothers, fathers, *and* teachers. The way they are praised is also different. Girls are told "congratulations". Boys, on the other hand, are told "congratulations", and given money. Thus, boys have more motivation to study.

Urbanization. *Culture and degree of urbanization are stronger determinants of gender socialization than socio-economic status.*

While the researcher from Morocco was reluctant to make generalizations from the study of the rural community within which she worked, her findings suggested that "Childrearing, gender socialization, and the value of the child are determined more by the rural culture, including the parents' education, than the socio-economic status of the family." Childrearing practices are determined by ecological, economic, cultural and social factors which are characteristic of rural areas in Morocco. This finding is consistent with other studies in Morocco. She stated, "We find the same way of life and the same perceptions within other communities.... We often see similarities between rural communities. We can confirm this assertion and generalize our findings by doing the same study with the same methods in other rural areas."

The India study also demonstrated the power of rural/urban differences, rather than socio-economic status, as predictors of a community's adherence to traditional gender socialization practices. The researcher noted,

The most consciously discriminating, orthodox and traditional families are the better-off rural families. These families make a conscious decision to restrict girls' choices, even though they have the means to be more egalitarian. The better-off rural families are usually the most hostile to girls, and tend to have a contemptuous attitude towards the life of a girl child.

In contrast to the better-off, rural families, "better-off urban families, especially the ones with an ECD facility in the area, hold more equitable perceptions about their daughters' lives." The researcher felt that it was largely due to the influence of the media and the intervention of the ECD facility that these families have a better sense of their own responsibility regarding the girl's food, education and marriage. Urbanization may be a positive factor in raising awareness about gender issues.

Changing Roles. *As the society changes, what used to be experienced as a balance is now experienced as an imbalance between male and female roles. Under these conditions, traditional socialization practices are detrimental to both males and females within the culture.*

Current childrearing practices can lead to the marginalization of males as well as females, particularly in urban areas. Across the studies there was a concern about the ways in which traditional practices are not meeting the needs of children today. Traditional practices prepared children to take their place within their society. In Mali, for example, young boys learned how to thatch, how to breed goats, and how to garden. These skills provided them with a livelihood as adults. Boys who have moved to urban areas are not taught these skills because they would not be useful in the urban market place. However, formal education is not giving them the skills and competencies they do need in the urban market place. Instead, school prepares them for a world of paper and pencil work that does not exist, there are few jobs for those who complete their schooling, and the educational system does not give them the vocational skills and competencies to create a livelihood for themselves. Thus, boys in all of the settings we studied are caught in a situation where they are being raised with some traditional values in settings which frequently require very different behaviours of them.

We found in all the cultures studied that there is less socialization and education of boys into clear roles and behaviours than of girls. Traditional practices included a tendency to privilege boys—giving boys wider leeway in behaviour, and excusing non-social behaviours by saying "boys will be boys". This does not teach boys responsibility, nor clarify what will be expected of them. When they are asked to take on responsibilities in their adult life, in increasingly complex contexts, they have little support or preparation for the task.

On the other hand, traditional practices socialized girls to take responsibility for themselves and others

from an early age. This was part of their preparation to take on traditional roles, but also appears to give them the facility to adapt to the modern world. While the socialization of girls to traditional roles does not give them broad options or opportunities, it does appear to give them a basic set of skills that can be of use in the modern world.

Thus, our examination of gender socialization brought up not only the differences between the expectations of girls and boys, but also the larger conflict people are facing all over the world: how to reconcile traditional values and practices with contemporary pressures, demands and settings. The bottom line is that people want their children to grow and thrive. However, in many settings, their tools for achieving this, or their images of what this should look like, do not match the realities their children encounter as they try to earn a living, create their own families, and meet their physical, spiritual and social/emotional needs.

The examination of gender socialization, therefore, is not simply a matter of tallying the numbers of girls who are included in or excluded from schooling, or documenting discriminatory practices. It requires us to look at the goals people hold for themselves and their children, and the requirements of the day-to-day reality they face and are likely to face in the future. It requires looking behind the "tasks" and "roles" to the values and expectations that help to form character. And because so much of the child's ability to learn, thrive, communicate, and think is formed in the first six years (with brain formation being accelerated in the first three years), it is important to address inequities created by gender socialization right from the beginning.

A key to addressing not only gender inequity, but inadequate socialization for both genders, is to work with parents. They are the children's first and primary teachers. The challenge lies in how we can work with parents so that children are raised in equitable and successful ways. How do we help parents to re-define their ideas of success, to encompass both their rich cultural traditions, as well as the realities of trying to survive and thrive in a contemporary world? It is hoped that, ultimately, through supporting parents in this task, we will move as communities and societies to a new balance between male and female roles, offering acceptable options to both girls and boys.

Where Do We Go from Here?

This research has provided some interesting insights into the cultures studied. However, given the short time frame and the challenges of using a "new" methodology, the researchers felt that, at best, the exercise represented a pilot study. They agreed that the methodology needed more testing, and that the questions raised in the study should be explored further. Thus, funds are being sought to continue the research in each of the six countries.

However, not all of us working to improve conditions for children have the time or resources to replicate these studies in the communities we are trying to support. Therefore, it is useful to examine what this exercise has taught us about how we can address gender questions in relation to the communities with which we work, and to guide the kinds of projects that are developed for young children and their families.

Within each of the cultures there are clearly ways in which socialization produces real differences in the knowledge, skills, abilities, attitudes and beliefs that boys and girls develop during the early years of their life. While many people interested in the gender issue have focused on the ways in which gender inequities have been detrimental to the development of girls, there are also some socialization practices and beliefs which have a very negative effect on boys. Thus, we need to be concerned about the socialization of both boys and girls.

Those of us involved in early childhood programmes face a dilemma. We have some ideas about the importance of equity, and we want to be assured that all children have access to education and life opportunities. Yet, we are working in cultures where the expectations for girls and boys may run counter to what we see as children's basic rights. We are also working in cultures which are undergoing rapid change. Many traditional beliefs and practices are no longer useful, as was noted above, in relation to training boys to become responsible men within the culture. While there will always be some people within the culture who want to hold on to the traditional values, there are others who are aware of the need to make changes. We can support them in their efforts to seek alternatives.

In all societies, gender differentiation happens very early on, sometimes before birth, in terms of expectations and preferences. Birthing practices and the care giving of young children very quickly set the stage for the ways in which children are treated during the early years and on into later childhood and adulthood. Thus, to make a difference in terms of socialization, it is necessary to work closely with families and with communities as a whole, rather than focusing primarily on school-aged girls.

In order to do that in a way that maintains the integrity of the community, it would be appropriate in most community development and education projects to explore the questions that were asked within this set of studies. While it would also be ideal if you were able to use the PLA methodology, it does require training to do it well and in a responsible way. In many countries there are people who are trained in

PLA techniques, in other places the methodology may not be known. (For more information on the methods and where you might get training, see Related Resources, page 27.) Regardless of whether or not you are able to use PLA, there is a series of questions that will help in the formulation of appropriate curriculum and strategies. What follows is a brief discussion of the areas covered within the studies and the kinds of questions to ask to better inform your own decision-making. The answers to these questions have implications for programming.

The Community

If you are responsible for developing programmes, then community will be defined in terms of the group that you hope to include within the programme.

The community you choose to work with can be:

- geographically based (e.g. a village in a rural area);
- a group served by a community centre in an urban area;
- a community unified by beliefs or practices such as the families attending a given Mosque;
- the families served by a specific early childhood programme, etc.

A good place to begin is to draw a physical map with members of the community. The reason for completing a community map is to gain an understanding of how the community views itself. What do people know about their own community? What places does it see as important within the community? Where do people gather socially? Are there safe places for children to play? Are there underutilised buildings that might be set up to provide health or child care?

Well-Being

An area that is of interest in getting to know more about a community is how people define well-being. *"We are interested in finding out whether people have a comfortable and secure life in the community."* How would people in the community characterize their lives and the extent to which their needs are met? What do they see as the characteristics of those who enjoy well-being? As we saw in the studies, people within the community may well use classifications (e.g. the 'tired people') and/or criteria (i.e. proximity to the river) that would not be within our frameworks.

Children's Well-Being

While an assessment of the community's well-being provides the context for understanding children's socialization, it is also important to know what structures people think support a child's well-being. What do children need in order to flourish? What kinds of things promote children's well-being? Again, questions can be asked to try to understand if the community thinks boys and girls need the same thing. In addition, it is important to explore who provides what children need. What needs does the mother meet? What needs does the father meet? Do people in the extended family meet other needs? Answers to these questions have implications for whom one would work with in the community to support children's growth and development.

Life Stages

One question of interest is what people understand to be the nature of children's development, for example, what are the markers in a child's life? When do these markers occur? Are there differences between when boys and girls attain these stages? One interesting finding the studies brought to light was the fact that many of the observable physical stages are used as markers of development in most of the cultures. In places where these stages are not 'taught' or encouraged, girls pass through the stage before boys. Clearly, people make observations and judgments about children's development. They have a sense of when children's development is on track, when children are too slow, and when they are too fast. A parent education curriculum in this context could help parents become observers of a wider range of behaviours and understand that their attention to the child does make a difference in terms of the ease with which children acquire skills and competencies.

What Children Need to Know

What do people think it is important for children to know? What is the knowledge that children are expected to acquire, and what skills and competencies do they need in order to live and grow in their culture? To what extent are people aware of a need to prepare children for a changing culture? Answers to these questions provide insights into what people perceive as important, as well as providing basic knowledge that will help perpetuate the culture. Again, once there is a general understanding of what children need to know, the next question is, is this different for boys and girls? An important variable in this equation is who teaches children these skills.

Another very important question to be able to answer before designing a parent education programme is, who is responsible for teaching what to whom? What are women responsible for teaching girls and boys? What are men responsible for teaching boys and girls? Answers to these questions would help in determining what women and what men need to know in relation to their traditional roles in educating young children.

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Well-being means different things to different people.

Characteristics of Children

What do people think young children are like? How do they expect children to behave? How do people help shape children's behaviour? It is clear from the studies that people have different expectations in terms of behaviour for boys and girls; expectations are lower for boys than for girls. In general, girls are seen as more accommodating, respectful and ultimately controllable. Boys, on the other hand, are not perceived to be controllable. They have a 'nature' that leads them to misbehaviour.

In general, in addition to expecting different things from boys and girls, there are different ways of rewarding and punishing children based on their gender. It is also helpful to identify these differences, and to identify the possible consequences of different patterns of reward and punishment.

Early Childhood Settings

Up until now we have looked at the child within the context of the community and family to determine the ways in which the child's larger environment establishes and reinforces sex-role differentiation. In some communities, early childhood programmes have already been established to address gender equity issues, but, for the most part, these programmes tend

to reinforce gender differentiation rather than provide girls and boys with a wider range of choices. Therefore, it is worth spending some time looking at the ways in which early childhood care settings can address gender issues.

A place to start would be in *observing* what actually takes place in the early childhood programme. Of particular interest is the interaction between the teacher/caregiver and the boy and girl children. What do teachers do that promotes gender inequity? Are boys responded to differently than girls? Are they spoken to in different ways? One study found that boys were rewarded more often for correct answers and that when they gave incorrect answers, they were helped more often than girls to get the right answer. When girls gave the wrong answer, they were immediately told it was wrong and the teacher moved on to another child. What is the message children get from this experience?

In addition to making observations in the classroom, it would also be useful to review curriculum and media to see what messages are being given. For example, in a set of interactive radio scripts (that reach people of all ages), it was found that the sexes did the following:

MALES	FEMALES
solved problems analytically	*often used intuition*
spoke for the group	*helped in activities*
distributed tasks	*were on the receiving end of actions rather than instigating them*
made final decisions	
were adventuresome	*were weary of technology*
were inquisitive	*were often frightened*
were mischievous	
were usually fearless	

Similar differentiations are found in reviewing stories used in ECCD programmes. This information should provide the basis for curricular reforms and for teacher training reforms so that gender roles present more variation for boys and girls.

After completing all these activities you should have some ideas about the ways in which girls and boys are socialized into gender roles and the attitudes, beliefs and practices that help form those roles. As you learn about the community, share what you learn with the community and talk about your observations. This is an opportunity to seek clarification and verification if you feel that is required, and to make community members a more integral part of the process. Given your new knowledge you could:

Create experimental ECCD programmes designed specifically to address gender inequities, and evaluate the results. In particular, it would be useful to develop programmes which help young children to broaden their range of skills and capacity to think, act and reflect on their actions. In addition, programmes could be put together which help children to develop their character more fully, in ways that will serve them in their contemporary society. Data from this type of experiment would inform planners and policy-makers about alternative strategies that could be explored to promote equity.

Undertake information, education and communication (IEC) activities to promote an awareness of issues related to gender. Socialization practices are difficult to change. A first step in the process is awareness. This is achieved by using a range of IEC strategies to help people identify and understand the issues and then to promote appropriate strategies.

We have a lot to learn about gender socialization and its implications for life-long learning and living. The PLA methodology provides an innovative approach to gathering data on gender, and its use should be explored further. Most importantly, however, we need to be more aware of our own gender biases and the ways that they affect the children—and adults—with whom we work.

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Gender Development and Culture:

The Treatment and Perception of Children 0–6 Years of Age

Excerpts from gender socialization studies carried out in six countries. The following excerpts are taken from longer studies that range from 40–120 pages, which present the experiences and findings from each country. Naturally, it is impossible for us to reproduce, or even adequately summarize, the richness and depth of each study. Therefore, our goal here is to create a montage to give you a taste of what each study yielded.

Case of Ait Cherki: A Moroccan Rural Community

DR. AICHA BELARBI

Preparing this gender study on the treatment and the perception of children from 0 to 6 years of age was a great challenge. If I consider the different obstacles I faced during these last three months it is amazing that it was born. Some of the obstacles included the fact that using the PLA method, Participatory Learning and Action, requires working openly and freely with the community. Our task would have been easier if the method had been limited to filling out questionnaires or doing interviews. Second, doing a field study in the rural or urban area requires permission from the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Six months into the nine-month study I had not yet received permission to go to the field. While waiting for permission I met with some acquaintances living in the outskirts of Rabat who helped me to carry out this study in an urban setting. It was very difficult to work without permission, especially when representatives of the local authorities were present everywhere.

I finally received permission in October. At that point I made the first contact with the Khemisset's local authorities. I had the first meetings with the community. Ait Cherki, trained the team and started working. By the time I obtained permission, the rainy season had started. After a rainy week, the roads were blocked, access to the Ait Cherki was impossible. But stubborn as I am, I went on a rainy day to the field and in spite of the advice of the Sheikh (a local representative), I drove ahead to the village. The car came to a stop on the muddy road. We waited hours for the repair services. After this incident, the car was damaged, the team was terrified, and I had frightened myself by my recklessness.

We did not give up. I returned to the field with the team, even though the strong rains continued. This time, however, I left my car near the commune office and went by foot, with umbrellas, to the community. It took an hour—more or less—depending on the condition of the road and the force of the rain. We worked under these conditions for more than five weeks.

This was not the first time I went to the field or studied gender socialization. I have led many research studies on these issues, alone or with students. What was new for me was the use of the PLA method. In this domain, I was a good and studious student. I tried to learn as much as I could about this method. I read many articles and studies describing the method. I also used the research protocol that was presented by Eileen Kane, and discussed during the April, 1996 meeting in Washington.

The objectives I had derived from the PLA method as it was presented were:

1. To enhance the eventual implementation of PLA within the Moroccan community.
2. To gain insights into its positive and negative aspects.
3. To test if PLA is the best method to:
   - make the community more expressive,
   - allow the community to participate,
   - allow the community to point out its main needs, and
   - identify the principal actions which would improve the life of the community.
4. To enhance the level of the local researchers implementation of this method.

Introduction

During these last years great interest has been accorded to rural areas in Morocco. Many studies have been led, and many projects have been implemented, either by the Moroccan Government or International Agencies. Most of these studies focus on household life and women's needs. The studies describe gender inequality at all levels, and show women as subject to multiple forms of deprivation, from the cradle to the grave, in spite of their key role in household livelihood systems, and their productive and reproductive capacity. Education, and especially girls' formal education, is presented as the most important current problem the rural population is facing. Early childhood seems excluded from research; the situation of young children is presented only in terms of health issues.

The last broad family national survey was conducted in 1995[1]. It is considered a main source of information and sums up different research on the family, giving the following findings about rural families:

1. 47% of rural households are formed by a nuclear family including parents and children.

2. Rural households function as a socio-economic unit.

3. Within the household, there is a clear division of labor based on gender. The man, as the "breadwinner" is primarily involved in productive work on the farm, while the woman as housewife and "homemaker" takes overall responsibility for the reproductive and domestic work involved in the organization of the household.

4. 78% of rural households receive the help of their children who are less than 15 years old.

5. Three out of four rural households demand that the girls become useful and helpful to the family before reaching 15 years of age.

6. About 59% of rural households expect their children to assist them when they become old. Children are perceived as sources of security for parents' old age.

None of these important data address the place and the status of children 0–6 years of age, either in the family or within the community. How are children treated by different members of the family? What kind of perceptions surround them? How does the family prepare them to grow in a healthy way, and to be integrated into the community and society? How does an early childhood experience help them to flourish, to be alive and well?

Our research on the treatment and perceptions of children from 0 to 6 years of age was designed to answer these different questions by starting from the daily life of a rural community located in the province of Khemisset, using the Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) methodology. The community we studied is Ait Cherki, a village that belongs to the Ait El Ghandour Tamaâ. It is located in the Khemisset province, which is situated 75 miles East of Rabat.

[1] Enquête Nationale sur la Famille 1995. Rapport de synthèse. Direction de la statistique. Maroc 1996.

The Community of Ait Cherki: A Forgotten Rural Area

Ait Cherki

There is a lack of basic infrastructure in Ait Cherki. There is just one mosque, which also serves the function of a preschool. It is a one-room building in the middle of the village. Nearly all the houses are built with stones and have a well. Because of this women do not need to seek potable water. Electricity is not yet available in this village or neighboring villages. All the basic buildings, the public bathroom, the health center, the primary school, the mosque, and the flour mill are located near the femma building, that is 1.5 or 2 miles from the village. The map drawn by the inhabitants showed the poverty of infrastructure and the daily problems faced by the community.

Our exploration of the community in its daily life, and its division into groups according to socio-economic status, formed the basis for a better understanding of the community's ways of gender socialization and perception. The value of the child is recognized. Life without children is an empty life. The child gives you a new status in the society, it is the reason of life, it orients your life and empowers you. The following section about children's life in the community highlights the children's place within the community.

Children under Six Years of Age: What Kind of Life Do They Have?

■ The stages of life that children pass through

The most important feature we can note about this classification of children's stages of life, is the appearance of a sort of "period of latency", from 3 to six years, where the parents do not identify the child's evolution in clear stages. They only consider a child who is five years old to be more mature than another who is four, without giving any further distinctions. It seems that the greatest interest is accorded to the first two years of life. The child and the mother are closely attached during this time. Thus, the mother follows the child's evolution, making comparisons between these children and older siblings or other children. The father does not intervene in childrearing until the child reaches 3 or 4 years old.

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We noticed that there are clear perceptual differences between how girls and boys develop. They are seen to have very different characteristics. These appear to be the result of parents' projections of their own images about women and men onto young children. Parents emphasize biological differences when they define the variation in gender needs.

■ A listing of children's needs and who provides for those needs

Food needs. To be in good health, children need to be well fed. They are like animals: "when you take care of their food, they grow quickly and without any problem." Now it is believed that children, especially before weaning, need another kind of food. Young mothers provide it to their children. It is based not only on breastfeeding, but on vegetables, meat, yoghourt, etc. New mothers are also carrying babies in their arms, and not on their back. However, the number of these mothers is still small in this community, and some of these mothers are mocked by the older ones.

People in the community do not have a good understanding of nutrition. Children until 2 years of age are deprived of vegetables, meat, fish, etc. Adults are deprived of these foods as well. They eat meat once a week, and even milk and eggs (which are locally produced) are sold in the market.

After weaning, all children eat the same meals as adults, except for some families who add eggs and milk to children's food. In this community, some foods are forbidden to children, both boys and girls, before puberty, for example, the spleen, which they believe produces black marks on the face.

Health needs. Parents understand children's health needs in relation to immunization and diseases. All the children of the community have received immunizations against Tuberculosis, Diphtheria, Tetanus, Whooping cough and Measles. In order to register the child's birth, parents are obliged to give the child its first immunization. The other immunizations are done during the annual immunization campaign, or by the intervention of the health center staff whose members go to the community from time to time, seeking the children who have not had their immunizations.

Educational needs. Parents manifest a great interest in formal education. They are worried about the lack of educational opportunities. They realize that their children are the first victims of poverty. The village's Koranic school does not operate well. The teacher, the *fquih*, who is a Koranic teacher, cannot give them a good education. Children in this mosque are learning the Koran, and sometimes some letters and arithmetic. The teacher communicates with children in the Berber language, and teaches them some elements of the Arabic language. The presence of the *fquih* at school is sporadic, and small children are not assiduous. Parents send them to learn, but always want them to be free for some hours a day.

The lack of kindergartens, the failure of the Koranic school, the lack of educational games and toys, the priority accorded to the Berber language by the family and the community, the inappropriateness of the curricula, and the burden of the educational program mandated in Rabat—homogenized for all the schools of the country—are the main handicaps for rural children's success at primary and secondary school.

Limited access to the Health Center by rural women—
The Health Center is situated 1.5 miles from the Ait Cherki village. It includes a special child service with 6 priorities: immunization, monitoring child weight, pregnancy control, family planning, child nutrition, and sanitary education. It organizes an educational session each Friday afternoon, addressed to the young children's mothers. These sessions deal with child nutrition, health, and the first treatment of some diseases. However, rural women's participation is very weak. It is difficult for them to walk for a long distance to participate in these sessions. The mobile health team does not reach this community more than once a year.

The analysis of the different children's needs shows the marginalization of rural areas. An analysis of life in rural communities demonstrates the deep problem of development which people in rural areas, rich or poor, are facing. The children's rights to food, health, education, and well-being are neither recognized nor respected by the Government, and the parents are not ready to take new initiatives in favor of early childhood or children in general. The primary obstacles that exist are the administrative burden of government, and the rural culture.

■ Description of the daily life of the four-year-old girl

People were asked to describe the typical day for girls and boys at four and six years of age. Usually, children under four years old accompany their mother everywhere. The child is carried on the mother's back, walks beside her or sits near her. Between four and six years of age the older sister or brother take care of them. This care is required since children under six years of age are considered to be ignorant. Even though there is a general belief in the culture that young children are ignorant, nonetheless, adults are

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Children in rural areas have family responsibilities which may inhibit their participation in school.

able to identify significant differences between what children at age four and age six are engaged in, and they see clear gender differences. These are described below.

If we summarize a four-year-old girl's activities during one day, as they were described by the mothers and focused on by the young sisters, we point out the limited and repetitive nature of the child's activities. The four-year-old boy has a different daily experience than his female counterpart. This simple description illustrates deep gender differences: while girls are expected to wake up early, sometimes without any help, mothers take into consideration the character of boys in terms of when they are expected to wake up. Some of them wake up early, others have difficulty in doing so and that is fine. When washing, boys need to be assisted by mothers or sisters; girls manage by themselves. Concerning play activity, girls are allowed to play near home, for a short time, and the mother keeps a watchful eye on them. An implicit permission is given to boys to play as long as they want and where they want. The access to Koranic school is also different. Girls usually attend it one year later than boys, except for those who have siblings attending the same school. In essence, the life of the four-year-old boy is more interesting and he appears to interact more with adults and siblings than the girl child. Four-year-old girls are expected to be more self-reliant, but they are not yet given many responsibilities. This shifts by age six.

Children and Gender Perceptions

Different perceptions of children emerged in the discussions led with four groups: the parents; the primary first class teachers; the doctor and the nurses of the health center; and the Government officials and local representatives of the commune and the village.

Parents' Perceptions

"The child is a gift. The male child is an investment for the future. The female child is just a visitor."

Children are the basis of the family. It is impossible to form a family without children. They are valued for the security they represent for parents, especially for mothers. Asked about their preference for female or male children, most of those in the group answered that they do not have any preference. A child is a gift from God. However, birth rituals, common beliefs, and the division of tasks between children demonstrate that the culture and the community way of life give some preference to the male child.

Although fathers and mothers declare the absence of gender preference, arguing that "all the fingers of the hand are the same", and that the "parent's heart cannot make a hierarchy between its different parts", we highlighted some practices which suggested gender differences. For example, people make a strident vocal sound to announce the birth of a male child. The same does not happen when a female is born.

The male child represents a real investment for the family. He will have the responsibility of the fields and the family, and will eventually take the father's place. From an early age boys adopt the father's and the men's behaviors. They do not provide any domestic help or take care of their personal affairs. They also refuse to stay at home.

The female child is appreciated by parents when she is around because she is a main source of help for the mother. Girls are perceived as the main material and moral support to their mothers. The mothers are very proud of educating their girls to follow in their footsteps, in their tasks and behaviors. However, the girl has to leave home when she marries. In the matrimonial exchange families lose their girls.

Teachers' Perceptions

"The rural child is timid and fearful. Gender differences do not exist in the classroom."

During the field work, we never met the Koranic school teacher. His school attendance in winter depends on the weather. Primary first class teachers were available and very eloquent about the lives of rural children, especially their school performance during their first years at school.

■ Rural children and the lack of parental education

The rural children do not receive any preparation for school within the family. They are free, they do what they want. Parents are very busy and do not pay attention to them. They feed them, no more. Rich people can give a better education to their children not because they are more aware than the others, but because they have TV, and children learn from its programs a lot of things, especially the Arabic language.

Rural children are described as timid and fearful. According to the teachers, these children do not communicate with parents, and are disoriented when they come to school. There they have to answer the teacher's questions, and communicate with other adults who are not their relatives, and they have little experience doing this.

The language issue remains central. Children in their families speak Berber. The first steps of learning Arabic is done at the preschool, but the constant absence of the teacher, his lack of qualifications in teaching small children, and the focus only on the Koran, show the failure of this institution to help children to learn and to integrate the Arabic language as a communication tool.

School as milieu of conflict between the Arab and Berber language—Teachers for the first class in the primary school face a dilemma. The children speak Berber and the curriculum is in classical Arabic. During the first days, some children cannot communicate with the teacher. All during the year many of the children have difficulties in understanding or writing in Arabic. Later they are expected to study in French. Children want to learn, they make a great effort to understand, but the curriculum is heavy, not adapted to rural areas, and the problem of language remains an obstacle to success.

The lack of play and games leaves the child "blank like a white sheet", which the teacher has to fill without the parents' help. The role of the teacher is not only to teach language and arithmetic, but to educate the children. He pays attention to their hygiene, their clothes, and even their health.

The teachers do not notice any gender differences in the classroom. "You find a clever boy as often as you meet a clever girl."

Success at school does not appear to be related to gender. It depends more on the interest of the family, the success of the elder siblings, and the cultural environment of the child.

Nurses' and Doctors' Perceptions

"Children are without childhood." "Boys are precious."

This group, which is meeting the health needs of the child, is in touch with the mothers and has a good understanding of the child's life. They felt that parents lack interest in their children's growth and development.

Once the child is three, the child becomes the third priority—Rural mothers are very busy. They have no time to spend with a child who starts to manage himself. They have to take care of the livestock and the domestic work. The care of the child comes last.

Those in the discussion group reach this conclusion based on the fact that the children they receive in the Health Center for immunization or consultation are often dirty. This lack of hygiene does not relate only to the lack of the family's means, or the absence of community equipment, it relates also to the mother's education and awareness of children's needs.

Rural children are very afraid of foreigners (anyone from outside the community). When they come to the Health Center, they are very attached to their mothers. Boys or girls, 5 or 6 years old, cannot answer the nurses' questions, or describe their pain, etc. Mothers answer for them. But sometimes the mothers are unable to understand what the nurses are asking them. Most of them do not know the precise age of their children.

The Perceptions of the Government Officials and the Local Commune and Village Representatives

"Rural people are not interested in improving their life. They are waiting for State intervention."

The main préoccupations of the government officials are related to the village's infrastructure, the commune's resources and the community's participation in carrying out economic and social development activities. As they explain, the *Sidi El Ghandour* commune is poor. The lack of material resources, like markets, factories, housing estates, etc., deprives the commune of a regular income and makes them very dependant on the administrative hierarchy. As a result, the community cannot invest in the development of the local infrastructure. Nor do people in the community have their own resources to provide an income. Many projects are planned, such as a clothing factory, a women's center (foyer féminin), and the creation of a market (souk), but they have not been carried out.

The government employees are complaining that the rural community members refuse to make any investments to improve the community's well-being. They refuse to make any expenditures to improve their lives and those of their children. Spending money to educate children seems a luxury rather than a basic need.

In terms of young children, the State is meeting some principal needs, like immunization, family planning and primary education. It is also trying to convince the population to participate as partners to introduce potable water and electricity in their houses.

"The community does not want to invest in kindergarten."

Some officials assert that rural people do not want to spend money on educating their children. They relegate all these activities to the State, like having electricity or potable water, or building a kindergarten and paying its staff.

From these different perceptions we notice the contradiction between parents' perceptions and those of teachers, nurses, and the government employees. Parents consider children to be an investment, they are struggling for them, and working hard to assure their well-being. They are spending a significant part of the family budget, not only to feed the children but to ensure their education and to provide them with decent clothes. Mothers are suffering under the hard work they are doing every day to maintain their children. "Our hands are deteriorated under daily washing," said one mother.

Teachers and nurses perceive the rural parents as weak, unsteady, feeding their children but not providing them any education. They are complaining about the rural children's lives and the harsh conditions. They see rural people as living without any new perspective or hope for the future.

The government employees complain about the resistance of rural people to participate in development projects, and their expectations about continued government involvement in the provision of infrastructure.

These different opinions, which are transformed sometimes into stereotypes, express the lack of communication between the different partners. These judgments about rural life are often made by urban people who are living far away from rural people, who are only in contact with them occasionally. They perceive rural reality through their own models, which are urban, middle class, and modern.

Summary

One finding was that childrearing, gender socialization, and the value of the child are more determined by the rural culture, including the parents' education, than the socio-economic status of the family. The results are determined by different ecological, economical, cultural and social factors within the Ait Cherki community. The results of this study cannot be generalized. Nonetheless, we find the same way of life and the same perceptions within other rural communities studied in other research.

In this study, the institutional relations between sexes and age groups are characterized by the domination of men over women, and old over young. These patterns bear the mark of patriarchy, which was indicated by the high rate of fertility, the son preference and the stereotypes which devalue women. The conventional models and preconceived notions remain the principal obstacle toward the modernization of the rural areas. Due to these burdens, it seems that all the sensitization campaigns promoting the education of the population on different issues, such as nutrition, health, childrearing, etc., have failed. In order to change this situation, it would require a steady political will, community participation and democratic institutions.

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Telling Their Story: Perceptions from Two Rural Communities in Bolivia

Jill McFarren Aviles, M.A.

Bolivia is a land-locked country in the heart of South America, with a rich multi-cultural heritage. There are more than 32 ethnic groups, some of which consist of millions of people (2,200,000 Quechuas), and other groups which comprise up to 4% of the population (the Zamuco and Mataco living in the southern sections of Bolivia).[1] The land is divided politically into nine Departamentos or States, and is distributed in three geographical zones: high plateau, valleys and tropics.

It is primarily a Catholic country, with a mixture of European, mestizo and indigenous populations. Aymara, Quechua, Guarani are the three main indigenous populations which have maintained their ancestral traditions, although the Spanish colonial influence is evident in many of their ceremonies. For example, in the Aymara culture, when a boy or girl turns two years old, a hair cutting ritual is carried out called *rutucha*. The *rutucha* coincides with the closing of the soft spot on the child's head. The *rutucha* is also considered a moment when the child is presented to the society at large. This ancestral indigenous tradition has incorporated the Christian baptism, reflecting the influence of colonial traditions.

With a total population of 6,420,792 and 1,098,088 square kilometers of land, Bolivia is considered a sparsely populated country: 5.8 people per square kilometer, of which 58% live in the urban areas and 42% live in rural areas.[2] The population is made up primarily of young people; 42% of the population is under 15 years of age. The population of children under 6 years of age is 1,319,096 and the number of girls is slightly higher than that of boys: 667,716 and 651,380 respectively.[3]

The Political and Economic Situation

The political situation within the past 12 years has progressed from being a dictatorial to a democratic government. Recent political reforms and new laws have caused political unrest, as evidenced by the many strikes carried out and road blocks set up during the past two years.

Economically it is one of the poorest countries in the Western Hemisphere, with a per capita income of 690 US Dollars.[4] Within the past 15 years, the inflation rate has gone down from 47% in 1980 to 10% in 1992.[5]

Health and Nutritional Status of Women and Children

The health status of infants has improved over the past few years, but it still remains poor. The mortality rate for children under 5 years of age is greater in Bolivia than in other Andean Countries. The nutritional status of girls differs from that of boys, especially in the rural area. According to the information obtained on the prevalence of malnutrition for children under the age of 5 in the Department of La Paz for 1992, for girls it was 25.5% and for boys it was 21%.[6]

The mortality of women in childbirth is very high —480 for every 100,000 live births. Women with no schooling have 6.1 children as compared to women that have attended secondary school or higher, who have 2.9 children.

How Do Treatment and Perception of Children Between 0–6 Years of Age Differ by Gender and Culture?

For the purpose of this study community is defined as a group of families served by the same municipality and health center. The two communities selected were El Chaco and Quilloma. Plan International, an interna-

[1] IV Conferencia Mundial Sobre la Mujer, Beijing 1995. Acción para la igualdad, el desarrollo y la paz. Foro Alternativo de ONG's. Situación de la mujer en Bolivia: 1970–1995 Una Década con Desafíos. Bolivia. 1995.

[2] Republica de Bolivia. Ministerio de Planeamiento y Coordinación. *Censo Nacional de Población y Vivienda*. La Paz. Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas. 1992.

[3] ibid.

[4] Republica de Bolivia. *Ministerio de Desarrollo Humano. Matriz de Políticas—Hoja para toma de decisión social*. La Paz. UDAPSO. ISE. UPP. UDAPE. 1992.

[5] UNICEF. 1994. Ibid.

[6] Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas. Encuesta de Seguimiento del Consumo Alimentario (ESCA) de 1991. La Paz. 1992.

"It is good that we are now aware; by talking between women and men, and with the community leader, we will find a solution."

tional, non-governmental organization already working in both villages, was asked to participate in the gathering of information.

El Chaco is located at approximately 2500 meters above sea level in the Province of Oropeza, Department of Chuquisaca. Quechua is the primary language spoken, although many people are bilingual (Quechua/Spanish). The province of Oropeza extends over a 3943 square kilometer surface, with a population density of 44.71 per square kilometer. The high density is because the province includes the city of Sucre, the capital of Bolivia.

Located in the middle of the *Altiplano* (High Plains) at 3959 meters above sea level, Quilloma is an Aymara speaking community of over 200 families. It is one of the communities in the Province of Pacajes, Department of La Paz. It extends across approximately 130,295 square kilometers, with a population density of 4.1 per square kilometer. The study represents 71 households, which are sponsored by Plan International-Altiplano.

In Preparation for the Collection of Data

Prior to the collection of data, personnel from Plan International in Sucre and in La Paz visited the communities to pave the way for future visits. They spoke to the *Dirigente* or community leader and made the necessary arrangements to assure maximum participation. Friday, Saturday and Sunday were selected, since they were days when people would normally meet, and this would allow the greatest number of community members to participate in the study.

In order to create a support team during the PLA process, the technical personnel of Plan International in Sucre and in La Paz participated in planning/training meetings. During these meetings the objectives, methodology, and forms were discussed. Some of the support team had experience with *participatory diagnosis*, but their experience was limited to focus groups and group dynamics. Since the languages spoken in the selected sites were Quechua and Aymara, two members from each of the Plan offices were designated as translators. For the majority of the activities, a translator was present, so that the researcher could help get the activity started. However, once the activities were under way, either a community member or Plan staff member took over, and the activity was carried out primarily in the native language.

The Collection of Data

■ El Chaco

El Chaco is a community with approximately 110 families living within a 10-mile radius. The majority are farmers, a few are tradespeople. Ninety-five families were represented in the study, all of whom are sponsored by Plan International Sucre.

Most of the diagramming of the instruments was done on a cement basketball court. When the heat got too intense for everyone, the instruments were drawn on chart paper and/or indoors on the floor.

To initiate participation and explain the purpose of the following three days, the community members were asked to tell *The Chaco Story* so that it could be shared with others and so they could use the information collected to plan better programs for young children.

Three groups were formed by the leader of El Chaco; each group participated in different activities throughout the three days. The only activity in which all of the groups were present was for the mapping of the community.

■ Quillema

Two days were dedicated to the collection of data with the community. The first day all of the community representatives chose to participate in all of the activities. During the second day four groups were

formed, with each group carrying out two sets of activities. A cement playground in the elementary school was used to draw most of the instruments. Due to a thunderstorm on the second day of the study, some of the activities were carried out inside the elementary school classroom.

Results

■ Education

Mothers' education appears to have a positive effect on the education of both boys and girls of a community. In El Chaco, where more mothers are educated than in Quilloma, a larger percentage of boys and girls are in Early Childhood Education programmes.

The role of mothers is also important in the education and general development of boys and girls. Mothers from El Chaco teach education concepts to girls more than fathers do. In Quilloma, mothers teach education concepts to girls but not to boys. Thus having an educated mother will probably improve the education level of girls. This finding was shared with the community and their response was: "The education is probably in the hands of the mothers; it is important to think of this, and especially for women."

Even though both communities indicated that education was important for boys and girls, differences were encountered when information was gathered using a variety of techniques. "Boys and girls both need education," said the community of El Chaco. But when asked "What are boys and girls like?", they mentioned study-related aspects for boys more than for girls. When asked how they praise boys and girls, the reply for boys was that they tell them: "You need to study, and know what we know; you need to be better than others." The response for a girl was in relation to herself: "No incentive for improvement or competition was given: "You do your homework well, you will learn a lot."

In Quilloma, where many more boys than girls (3:1) are enrolled in ECE programs, all children are praised for going to school. However, girls are praised by their mothers and fathers; boys are praised by their mothers, fathers, and teachers. The way they are praised also differs. Girls are told "congratulations". Boys on the other hand are told "congratulations" and they are given money.

■ Health

Health issues were raised in relation to who teaches them, and how boys and girls grow to be healthy.

In El Chaco for example, during the final meeting when information on the prevalence of malnourishment in boys was presented, one mother indicated that "boys are weaker than girls. Even though more attention is given to the boys, they get sick more." In contrast, "even though girls are sprawled on the floor they don't get sick." When this information was crossed with data obtained from what boys and girls need to know, the only thing girls needed to know more about was being clean. During the meeting in which data was returned to the community, people indicated: "It is good that we are now aware; by talking between women and men and the community leader we will find a solution."

It is interesting to note that in Quilloma, the father teaches girls and boys about personal hygiene, while the mother teaches aspects related to being healthy (eating). In order to help boys and girls to be both clean and healthy, both the mother and the father need to participate in training children.

During future meetings held with the community, Plan International-Altiplano will present the results of this study to initiate a joint planning process.

■ Construction of gender identity

Who boys and girls perceive themselves to be is influenced by their relationship with others. A girl who sees that her brother is given money and congratulated not only by her mother and father, but by teachers as well, may tend to feel that education is not rewarding for her when she only gets congratulated. When girls are characterized as being more helpful than boys, then their role in the future will be to help others, while their brothers are being told they have to be better than others.

In El Chaco, girls are perceived to be playful, yet boys are perceived to be studious. Will these messages influence who they become? In Quilloma, boys' actions tend to be careless, playful, healthy and they tend to misbehave. As fathers later on, will they also be careless, playful, healthy, and behave inappropriately?

Use of PLA for Programming Purposes and in Other Areas

The data obtained through the PLA techniques provides information in a way that can be used by different institutions and the community for programming purposes. The results obtained can determine what types of actions are included in a project. Will the actions be within one single sector, or cross health, education and other sectors?

If training is one of the strategies in a project, who will be the participants, (i.e. fathers, mothers, both)? What content will be taught?

What are the community's perceptions? Do they place value on education, or more on their livestock and property? As one community person in El Chaco said: "We think more about our property, about our lots, and not about education. It is time to change."

The active and true participation of the community

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FORMULARIO 5.B **Bien estar de las niñas**

Communidad El Chaco Fecha 21-7-96

Fuente, Quien satisface necesidades de las niñas

NECESIDADES	Mama	Papa	Hermanos	Abuelo	Tio
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facilitates the ownership of both the problems and solutions. When telling their own story, people reveal their problems, and solutions emerge. This is more effective than having someone come in to tell them what they need to know or do.

In Bolivia, this methodology will be extended into other areas. One of them will be a Plan International project working with adolescent street children. "We will use it to prioritize the problems confronting children and adolescents, and in vocational orientation, so that they can identify their abilities and possible professions."

The implementation of this study using PLA techniques has provided many people with the opportunity to tell their story about how boys and girls develop in their community, and opened many eyes as to what can and needs to be done to improve the lives of children 0–6 years of age.

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Gender Differentiation: A Case Study of Bambara Children, Bugula, Southern Mali

DR. N. URBAIN DEMBELE

To set the stage, there are some basic indicators. Mali is a developing land-locked country in West Africa. In size, it is 1,246,000 square kilometers. The population of 9,000,000 is concentrated primarily in the central, southern and western parts of the country. Ethnic, regional and economic diversity make Mali a land of many cultures. For example, the Sahara desert, which is located in the northern part, hosts diverse nomadic populations of Touaregs, Moors and Arabs. As a consequence, intelligence and far-sighted policy-making are required to, at best, bridge the gaps which may result from such a complex social context.

Mali was colonized by France. Long before the French domination Arabs settled in the North and imported the Islamic religion. Today, Muslims constitute the majority of the population. However, there is a relatively peaceful coexistence between followers of the main religions. Recently the different religious leaders helped to bring to an end the conflict created by student opposition to the government. Within Mali there is also the concept of 'cousinage' which refers to the sharing of power. Confrontation is not the mode of operating; instead conflicts are mediated.

In terms of the economy, Mali is one of the poorest countries of the world. Cotton is a major crop, cattle raising is important, and the extent of gold deposits is being explored. Today, per capita income is $310/year.

After independence in 1960, a socialist regime came into power. A nationalistic approach to development brought about changes in the social, economic and political sectors. In 1968 a military coup took place and the military governed with a strong hand until 1991. A revolution, provoked by a popular uprising led by dissatisfied workers, students and political opponents, ushered in an era of democratic changes. The present government is moving along these lines.

The social sector, which is characterized by a poor educational system, low health coverage, and growing poverty in the rural and urban areas, is undergoing important changes. Decentralization, access to education and health facilities, and mass awareness are part of the present day political discourse and social expectations.

Girls' early education is of utmost importance in both modern and traditional African societies. The reason for this in sub-Saharan countries, for instance, is that women are considered to be a very industrious group, and they have extraordinary duties. At the same time they have very limited rights. They also have limited access to formal educational opportunities. The challenge is to bridge the gap between boys and girls by using culturally-based strategies relevant to the achievement of equity.

The Bambara society is very traditional. It views early childhood as an essential life stage. During the child's early years both men and women, with minute precision, socialize children according to customary roles. This study was an attempt to understand more about that process. The questions asked included: What is meant by gender? How do national communities view it? Do strategies aiming to increase girls' access to school stem from a genuinely felt need for gender equity, or follow the path of feminism à la mode? What are the strategies which may mobilize social forces in Mali? How do you help establish a dialogue which caters to men and women acting as complementary partners? Can early childhood be a good starting point? How can this be brought about? Why do male and female Bambara children do what they do at a given age? Have they always done so? What is being done differently? Who cares if things are or are not done the way they are usually done? When do siblings begin to be conscious of their status as girls or boys? How much pressure does the community exert on children to adopt gender-appropriate behaviour? The data gleaned from this study will be used to facilitate and support learning activities for all Bambara children, girls and boys alike.

These questions were addressed by and with the community. The village chosen, Bugala, is in the District of Kolondieba, Southern Mali. In this district Save the Children USA (SCF) supports a multi-sectoral development programme.

The village chosen is a large community, with a population of 1,436 people. Females outnumber males (53% to 47%); children under 13 make up nearly half the population. The main occupation is agriculture: millet, corn and cotton farming.

Life within the village is organized by age groups. Those who are older take care of those who come after. At each level people are expected to be the teachers for those who are young. They are responsible for teaching them 'sense'. All basic knowledge is transmitted through this education system. Those who are older can also always ask young people to run errands and do things for them. The Imam (religious leader) provides religious education for the men only. Women in this community do not attend Koranic schools. But women are a powerful force. Some say that the wife of the Chief is the real Chief.

The basic social structure is the extended family: some of them have as many as 100 people. The Heads of families are all included among the Elders. Men are allowed to have four wives, but they are responsible for providing the wife with shelter, protection, good health, and food. The man also provides the wife with her own house.

One of the woman's responsibilities has to do with the provision of food. She is responsible for feeding her family. When food is abundant, all share the food. Senior men share with children, senior women share with young girls, women working together eat together. In times of scarcity, the woman is more protective of her food and feeds only her own family. All the wives, however, are responsible for feeding the husband. Thus even in times of scarcity, the husband does well.

Power among the Bambara comes from access to the land. Land is owned by the Head of the Family. He can grant women access to the land; this is done based on their ability to meet their obligations. A woman can even be given land by someone outside her family, if this is agreed upon by the Elders. People work on the land five days a week. Traditionally, Mondays and Fridays are days you do not cultivate. Fridays belong to the individual; he/she does not have to work for the Head of the family. A person can work on his or her land, or go to town, or simply sit and drink tea.

Gender Development

The general question addressed here was: What do we know about our children?

It was decided during assembly that the cycle of childhood should be discussed. What happens before birth and at birth? What are the childrearing practices between birth and one year of age; at the age of one year and beyond? How and when are groups of children formed?

What Happens Before a Child is Born?

This question was asked of all the groups separately. The answers can be summed up as follows.

Many persons, men and women, maintain that there are no special functions or rites to be performed in order to give birth to male children. Based on religious beliefs, all children are valued. As stated, "A child is a gift; no one has to choose." "When a child comes, it must be accepted, male and female alike."

The Bambara of Bugula, as well as the others from the Kolondieba region, are animists. They consult the oracles so as to predict their future. By so doing, many a man tries to know whether he will have numerous male progeny. Men will question the oracle to know whether their pregnant woman will bear the child safely, and what it will be, male or female.

"Wise men" may know and reveal the information during a *consultation* in the shrine of the *koma*. The owner of the *koma*—the *komotigi* (a member of the *tonti-ji*—sacred society) owner of fetishes, unbeliever (in that he is not a Muslim)—tells the future in many ways: from his innermost *introspection*, or from the *cowries* or other specific symbols, such as water. There are only a few *komotigi* in the village. They will "read" from various signs and suggest what the coming child will be: male or female. The *komotigi* generally does not allow himself to be interviewed. While there are no women who are *komotigis*, there are women healers.

Many youths stated that traditional medicines (herbs, roots) are used to facilitate the birth of a male child. There are many *domaa*, knowledgeable persons in the nearby villages who, it is believed, can intervene and facilitate the coming of a male child. The young women reported that bathing in the extract or infusion of certain vegetation is likely to help. Many other people resort to prayers.

Despite such practices, opinion varied as to whether or not there was a preference for a male or female child. Some people claimed to be indifferent, the reason being that males and females complete one another. "A child equals a child." There was also an expression of resignation: "What God sends us must be accepted."

In sum, opinion varies from person to person and from household to household as to whether or not males and females are preferred. In terms of what people say, it is not clear whether the villagers prefer male children to female ones. What is clear is that a family will not be satisfied with only male children, nor only with female ones; a mixture (boys and girls) is considered better. However, more boys is considered a special blessing.

When a Child is Born

While many people stated that they had no preference, or that girls were preferred, the actual activities that take place upon the birth of a boy or girl suggest that males are clearly the preferred child.

When a baby boy is born, the father may kill a fowl every day before the naming ceremony which happens on the 7th day. Another practice is to reward the midwife when she brings the news. On the other hand, when a baby girl is born, the father may kill just one fowl, and perhaps, express dissatisfaction. "It's good, it would have been better if it were a boy." "A home may end without the birth of male children."

Men are not allowed to see the birth. It is not acceptable to be too excited about the birth. Theoretically, the man learns about the birth only when the baby is presented to the Head of the family.

Men cater to women following the birth. They do not approach the mother for four months if the baby is a girl and for three months if the baby is a boy. (This is in line with the fact that the number 4 is the girl's number, and the number 3 is the boy's number.)

Child Care from 0–1 Year of Age

Some of the questions asked in relation to child care were: What do we know about our toddlers? What do they do? What do we do with them? Similar questions had already been asked in a similar context in five villages further south.

The data generated in this study revealed that the Bambara pay attention to and watch their children's growth. They are interested in concrete stages, that is, observable signs of the child's growth. The following stages of a child's growth were identified by mothers, fathers and caregivers as typical:

- holding the head straight on the neck;
- smiling at people;
- being able to sit without any support;
- grasping things tightly.

According to the Bambara, these signs of growth appear at different times according to the health status and the gender of the child. It is generally believed that boys should sit at three months of age; girls should be able to sit by four months of age. The group consisting of family heads stated that sitting is actually achieved at seven or eight months of age.

What is unique about the Bambara culture is that the Bambara believe it is important to be actively involved in promoting the development of children's physical skills. The development of motor skills is encouraged through a variety of activities, medicines and talismans. For example, to help children develop the ability to sit they may be placed in a large container—a calabash or basin that helps stabilize the child, or clothes can be made into a 'nest' to prevent the baby from falling. Another strategy is for an older child to sit and use his lap to hold the baby. The older child's arms are put around the baby to prevent it from toppling forward, and the child's body prevents the baby from falling backward.

The one physical milestone that children are not taught deliberately is crawling. This is thought to be a skill which comes naturally without any physical or material assistance.

Several devices may be used to help the child walk. Babysitters usually help by 'appealing, tempting, or motivating' the baby. To make the child walk, one usually attracts his attention and invites the baby to stand and move, or extends one's arms toward the baby, or offers the child an object he/she wants. Often, a four-wheel traditional cart is given to the child. Boys, or even carpenters, fashion them. The mother, older siblings and other relatives use these motivational devices until the child is tired.

Medicines and talismanic devices are used to protect the child from harm and to encourage what is perceived to be appropriate development. Natural elements are used as symbols of magical representations. Thorny vegetation, for instance, is used in baths to accelerate skills acquisition.

In addition, special baths are prepared from herbs and leaves as protection against various dangers and to heal wounds. A *tafe*, a cotton thread, is folded in three for boys and folded in four for girls and used as a protective device. Children are washed with herbs to keep them less fearful; fear is seen as an impediment to walking.

When expected development is late or does not come, the causes are sought through consultation and the remedy applied. Children are discouraged from doing things earlier than their age mates. Walking before the age of seven months is discouraged as is

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A woman's responsibility is to provide food for her family.

talking before one year of age. When children 'stand out' in some way, the phrase is, 'the goats are parted'.

All the groups agree that learning is spontaneous. According to the groups of women, "It is god's work if the child can learn." Learning occurs through imitation. The child imitates actions and language, word by word, expression after expression, and complete sentences are uttered.

Two principal supports play an essential role in the child's learning process: the mother and the babysitter, *donsonsa*. They are the language 'monitors' who make sure that the child speaks at the right moment, not before and not later than expected.

When a child speaks earlier than expected, it is usually discouraged. "We do not accept such situations. We have the child absorb a traditional beverage called *'kono nin nin'*. Then, the child will wait till the normal time comes to talk."

Special treatments are reserved for children who do not talk when their age mates have done so. When a child is 'behind' the period of talking, according to the group of senior women, "the nest of a bird called *n'ko* is rubbed on the child's mouth." N'ko is a talking bird.

Attending the child is too demanding for one person, especially when the child starts walking. While the mother is occupied at different duties, an older child watches over the toddler.

Girls from age four to 12 care for younger children. They organize their games, play, and feed them. However, supervision is needed when the mother is away in the fields. Senior women usually help at these times.

Breastfeeding is generally practiced. According to the mothers, breastfeeding lasts from 10 to 24 months. The last born child is likely to be breastfed longer than his/her siblings. The actual length of time the child is breastfed is a function of the sex of the child and the rank of the children's family. But there are no hard and fast rules. In essence, the length of time a baby is breast fed seems to be left to every mother.

The heads of families complained that some children are weaned earlier than they should be. Many people, including opinion leaders, noted that boys are weaned earlier than girls. The former at 12 months and the latter at 30 months. The reason for this is that late weaning is believed to retard or diminish the intellectual capacity of a child. The fact that, according to the elders, boys should be weaned earlier than girls, suggests that there is more concern about the intellect of the boy than the girl.

There was no unanimity as to when solid food should be allowed. Again, this appears to vary from mother to mother. Families differ in the beliefs, eating habits and taboos that they honour. An elderly person suggested that, "Every mother should know what to serve or not to serve to her child." Some elderly women declared, "I cannot think of any food that can not be served to children." It should be noted that there is no differentiation between boys and girls as to the time of feeding or the kind of foods they are given.

Clothing a baby is not a preoccupation. "A child will wear what his mother finds." The *Senufo* who live in the southern part of Mali, and other Bambara communities, also are not concerned about the kind of clothing children wear before they are five. For this reason, girls and boys wear the same kinds of clothes. From this age boys wear attire similar to that of their fathers, and girls wear the same kinds of clothes as their mothers.

One reason for the lack of differentiation in clothing for those under five is that traditionally, the Bambara do not clothe their children before they are five years old. Five is the age at which gender differentiation begins. Thus it is the starting point of gender differentiation in clothing. This pattern is similar in other Bambara villages as well.

While most agreed that children put on what their mothers find or can afford, the younger generation did not share this opinion. They maintained that a boy's clothes differ from those of the girl. They could be right considering the articles of clothing coming in from outside which definitely differentiate boys and girls. Another challenge to the notion that there is a lack of differentiation between boys' and girls' clothing before age five is the fact that mothers give their children sex-related clothing to reward and calm them, boys or girls.

Hair styles are the same for boys and girls until age five. The hair is cut short for everyone. A child is considered 'dirty' when his hair is long. Personal hygiene is taught and required early for both boys and girls. A child is expected to wash two or three times a day. Babies are washed in the morning, at midday and in the evening. Girls adopt this habit but boys have to be reminded and sometimes forced to wash when required. A child's mother, its care giver or the woman supervisor (old lady) is responsible for the child's cleanliness.

Group Formation Among 1 to 6-Year-olds

Mixed groups are formed spontaneously by boys and girls until the children are five or six years old. Where children live seems to be the most important factor in the formation of play groups. Mothers seem to encourage the coming together of children as suggest-

[1]Dembele, N. U. (1982) Developing an Educational Framework from Traditional Modes of Thought and Education: a case study of a Senufo Poro variant. Ph.D. thesis, University of Wales, Cardiff, U.K. 7. The Senufo live in the southern part of Mali (north of Ivory Coast).

ed by a young woman who said: "I tell my child: go play with someone, and then I run away to my errands."

Children's gregarious instinct works best between the ages of two and four. They imitate adults' various social behaviours: marriage, cooking, farming, entertainment. They learn to play different roles. Gender differentiation does not prevent boys and girls from using the same play grounds where they play *jere tan-da*. This game is played by mixed sex groups.

It was suggested that girls begin to be aware of gender differences earlier than boys are aware of such differences. As children become more aware of gender they move to more segregated play and engage in different kinds of play. At age five there is an awareness of physical capacity. Boys play games which are physically highly demanding: games which are considered dangerous for girls. Examples of these activities are: running, football, jumping and wrestling. Girls are engaged in activities like clapping hands, dancing and hide-and-seek.

Beyond physical differences, children are socialized into different types of work at age five. The circumcision of boys and excision for girls at an early age achieves the process of differentiation.

Today these practices take place at age five to six. Traditionally circumcision was part of a long process which is today no more than a token gesture.

Socially, a boy must be circumcised before being called a man: *ce*. A woman should also be excised before being called "a woman": *muso*. Until then, they are called *bilakoro*. As soon as a boy is circumcised he becomes a full-fledged man. He enters the society of men. He is initiated while healing his wound. He learns about his role, an essential part of which is being different from women and superior to them. Newly circumcised boys are "manned", and accepted behaviour is imposed on them. A boy who cries or is fearful, one who is not courageous and strong, is called a woman. He must show virility on all occasions.

The girls come of age later, between the ages eight and ten. During their seclusion following excision, they are taught what a woman is, how she should behave, where to go, how to meet people, etc. The sense of womanhood and belonging to the group of women is enforced.

Circumcision and excision achieve separation between girls and boys. Boys and girls must no more be seen together once they have been "initiated". After a boy is circumcised, his father will no more accept that the boy does chores reserved for women. Likewise, the mother will not allow her daughter to act like a boy or to be treated like one.

Activities that Foster Gender Identity

Questions asked in this section referred to who should do what and why. From what was discussed a few categories were made.

Social Chores

Young Bambara children participate actively in daily activities as children, without any gender implication. These activities are part of the training necessary for social integration. The activities help children develop a sense of responsibility, confidence and authority.

Boys and girls, from 3–6, must be able to help in various ways. They are involved in:

Caring for the youngest: Boys and girls alike look after the youngest when there are no adults around. When adults are present, older boys and girls must help watch over the youngest. Adults do not interfere until the situation is considered too serious for the children to manage.

Running errands: Obedience is tested at an early age. Fetching drinking water for adults and older children is the most common activity assigned by the Bambara society to children. Some children obey promptly. Others linger before obeying. Some refuse and run away. All community members observe and occasionally help punish or reward children.

Household Chores

All groups asserted that domestic tasks fall in the domain and obligations of girls. Boys must not be seen performing such tasks. Nonetheless, the women complain about how some men interfere and prevent the boys from helping. Their comments included: "Sometimes the fathers force the boys to refuse doing simple household chores." "In our household, no one dares assign a single forbidden task to a boy."

Where there is no girl, who does the chores? Relatives support one another. So, a woman without any daughter asks a relative to comfort her. One niece or cousin is designated to help with household chores. Those who come to help in the household are to be treated as a daughter.

In case there is no one, the mother is helped by the boys from time to time. As a result, she is confronted with uncomfortable questions and remarks.

Traditional leaders (village chief and counselors) held firm that work distribution by sex should be respected. "No boy should be feminized; tasks proscribed for boys must remain so." According to most men, the youths included, whatever can be done by a girl can be done by her mother rather than by a boy.

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Children of a Lesser God: Differences in the Treatment and Perception of Children 0–6 Years of Age by Gender

DR. SEEMA AGARWAL

This study was carried out in four different locations in India: two rural and two urban. The two rural villages for this study were chosen from the State of Madhya Pradesh (M.P.), the largest and central state of India. M.P. has a population of approximately 72 million people, accounting for 8% of the country's total population. It covers 13% of the country's geographical area.[1] According to most inter-state comparisons, it is one of the poorest and most backward states of the country. The two urban locations were in New Delhi.

Bahragaon and Badwani are two rural villages of the Timarni Block in District Hoshangabad. According to the State Human Development Report (1995) Hoshangabad district has an illiterate female population of 78%, compared to 81% for M.P. as a whole. The corresponding figure for male illiteracy in the district is 52% compared with 60% for the state.

Bahragaon is a village of the plains, and Badwani is a forest village. The latter was chosen to see if gender issues would be different in a village in the interior with a forest-based economy and a 100% tribal population. The research team we used in these two villages belonged to an NGO, *Bharat Jan Vigyan Jatha*, which has been active in the district for over 20 years and was familiar with both villages.

Bahragaon Village, Madhya Pradesh

Bahragaon is located 8–9 kms from Timarni. The total village population is 515 people—271 males and 244 females. People from different castes inhabit the village, including Gunars, Rajputs, Brahmins, Sotar, Nai, Kahar, Scheduled Castes (S.C.) and Scheduled Tribes (S.T.).

This village could be said to be fairly average in its indicators and composition.

The approach road to Bahragaon is *pucca* (*tarmac*), but the road leading into the habitations is *kuccha* (*dirt*), which is a major problem during the monsoons. Drinking water comes from wells and handpumps located throughout the village. Although there is electric power in the village, some of the houses belonging to the S.T. and S.C. populations do not have electric service. There is no medical facility in the village, so people must go up to Sodalpur (2 kms away) for any kind of medical attention needed (private or gov-

[1] The Madhya Pradesh Human Development Report 1995

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Girls are trained to be good homemakers; they need to uphold their family's honour when they marry and become part of another family.

ernment). The nearest post office, bus stop, and market is at Sodalpur.

The village has one primary school (up to class V) for boys and girls. The school building consists of one big classroom with a veranda on either side, each of which serves as a classroom. There is no boundary wall to the school compound. Because space is so limited, different classes must sit together. There are only two teachers, one male and one female, to teach all five classes. Both these teachers commute daily to the village from Sodalpur and Harda respectively. According to some of the villagers, this is a drawback, as teacher absenteeism is high.

Working in the Village

We began our first morning by taking a 'round' of this village. This helped us get to know the surroundings and let the villagers know about our presence. As we moved around the village, men kept joining us, but women were never part of this. It was interesting to watch groups casually drop out of our party and new people join in as we passed through various parts of town. Many children joined in, too.

This tour of the village was very illuminating. It gave us a general idea of the inter-group relationships in the village, and made it obvious that we would have to talk to representatives of different communities if we wanted our data to be representative of the town as a whole. The village seemed to be largely divided between two of its major communities, the Scheduled Castes and the Other Backward Classes (represented by the Gujar community). In the afternoon, we worked with a group of youth to create a community map.

Most of our information was gathered through single-sex focus group discussions. Since the village is fairly large and has many different communities, we set up focus groups within the various communities, always keeping the men and women separate. Group size was kept at eight to ten people to encourage discussion and the participation of each person. Although we did not want large groups, at times more people gathered than those asked to participate. While one person from the research team facilitated and moderated the discussion, another member took notes.

Badwani Village, Madhya Pradesh

Badwani is a small tribal village, 10 kms from Rahatgaon in the Harda forest of Madhya Pradesh. The nearest town is Timarni, which is 24 kms away. The total village population of 440 comprises 236 (53%) males and 204 (46%) females. Nearly 100% of the population belongs to the Korkoo Tribe, a Scheduled Tribe. As such, this village is atypical, even for Madhya Pradesh.

The total literacy level of Badwani is 8% with the male literacy level being 4% and the female literacy at 1%. These figures are very surprising considering the fact that the village has had a primary school since 1942.

The approach road to Badwani is *kuchcha*, which becomes a problem during the monsoons. In addition, the river that has to be crossed to reach Badwani overflows during the monsoons making it extremely difficult for people to cross over, and the village remains virtually cut off.

The village is supplied with electricity and it has a medical dispensary. However, the person posted at the dispensary rarely stays within the village, despite accommodation being provided. Drinking water is available from a well and hand pump. The river is used for bathing and washing clothes and utensils.

Working with the Village

To approach this village we first contacted the forest rangers' office at Rahatgaon. The range officer sent one of his colleagues to accompany us to the village and introduce us to the villagers. We learned from him that this village has been visited by a large number of officials studying forest management, both from within the country and abroad.

We first stopped in at the primary school, which was at the entrance of the village. The whole village had a deserted look, though we could hear the voices of children. We discovered later that most of the villagers went out to their fields during the day. Because of this, most of the group discussions took place at night or late in the evening.

Our first task was to work with the children to draw a map of the village. It was surprising to learn how precise even the small children could be, identifying exact locations and points of interest. The map record of demographics was filled in with the help of the school teachers. Details left out were filled in by the research team after making visits to individual houses the next day.

As evening approached we could see the villagers returning from the fields. They did not seem too curious about us and moved on after a brief nod. This was quite different from our experience in the other village and seemed strange. We realized we would need to make an effort to develop a rapport with the people. We split up and visited a number of houses, talking to the women and children as they prepared breakfast. During the next three to four days we were able to set up many effective small group discussions. There was some difficulty with dialects — they spoke a somewhat different one from the research team, but with some effort we managed to communicate.

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Khanpur Colony, New Delhi

The community, Khanpur *Jhuggi Jhopri* cluster, is a resettlement colony in south Delhi. It started out as an unrecognized urban slum, inhabited by migrants from other parts of the country. The Delhi Municipal Corporation recognized them in 1975, and has allocated land and housing to each family since then.

When Khanpur was established in 1975, during the Emergency, the colony was on the outskirts of the city, and was considered poor and remote. Over the years, the original recipients of the free land and housing have sold off their plots to others, and today the community is much better off, it has moved into the lower middle income group. The families that live in Khanpur now have TVs, refrigerators, gas stoves, stereos, motorcycles and cars, and they are in the process of upgrading their houses with expensive tiles, fixtures and furnishings.

Today, each family settled in Khanpur occupies an allocated 25 sq. metres of land. All the houses are constructed according to a well-planned standard design and are arranged in rows. With the increasing wealth of some of the families, many homes have been expanded to two or three storeys, often bringing in rental income. The colony has adequate provision of electricity, water, and community toilets, and is well connected by roads and public transport. There is also a medical dispensary, community hall, library, post office, and primary school (up to Class V).

The colony is divided into four blocks, A, B, C, and D, with each block housing approximately 260 households (with roughly 1,000 households in all of Khanpur). Each block has an open space/park. There is a well-established market catering to the needs of the community. There are houses of worship for Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs, an indication of a heterogenous community.

It was beyond the scope of this study to cover the whole of Khanpur. Block C was chosen for the study because the Mobile Creches (an effective day care programme that provides continuity for parents whose work moves from site to site) already had a creche program in Block C, and a good and long-standing rapport with the families in the area.

Working in the Community

The research in Khanpur was undertaken by a team with ten members. It took almost thirty hours spread over eight days to collect the data. Approximately thirty women from thirty households participated in the group discussions through which the data were collected.

The Protocol was first translated into Hindi, and two days of training were given to the researchers on PLA methods. The group familiarized themselves with the objectives of the study.

Mapping the community took three days. For the focus groups, the women could spare at most two hours in a day, so it took three sittings to complete the discussions. Deciding the venue of the meetings was somewhat difficult. Some of the women refused to go to meetings in streets inhabited by people of a different caste.

To learn what children do during the day and who is responsible for them, the researchers conducted interviews with small groups of children age 5–6.

V.P. Singh Camp, New Delhi

V.P. Singh Camp, once known as the Pant Nagar Jhuggies, is an urban slum situated in the heart of New Delhi. No one could tell us exactly when it formed, but many inhabitants said that they have been there since before the Emergency (1975). The jhuggies lie along the banks of the Pant Nagar Nallah (an open sewer), close to the Lala Lajpat Rai Marg and a residential colony, Jangpura extension.

V.P. Singh Camp has an estimated sixty-three households and a population of about 350. It was chosen for this study because it is small, centrally located, and has a diverse group of inhabitants. It also has a substantial number of Muslim households, and the Muslim community was totally absent from our earlier samples.

The slum is home to people from different castes and regional backgrounds, including Muslims, Christians, Scheduled Castes, and Other Backward Classes. The slum is recognized by the Delhi Municipal Corporation, but the government does not supply all basic services. For example, although all the houses here have electricity, it is taken illegally. Water taps are provided by the government, and there is a private hand pump. Nearly all houses are *kuchcha*, with walls made of mud and bricks, and roofs of bamboo sticks with plastic stretched across wooden planks or asbestos sheets. Some of the houses have cement floors. There are no toilet facilities, so the *nallah* (open sewer) is used as such. Most all the jhuggies (shacks) are owned by those who live in them, but a few are rented for Rs 300–500 per month. A ration card facility (for food rations) has been provided to people living in this slum.

Most children from this area go to the government-run Municipal Corporation Primary School in the adjoining Jangpura Colony. The school has two shifts, the morning shift for girls and the afternoon shift for

[2] According to the National Council for Applied Economic Research (NCAER), the average household population in urban slums is 5.2.

boys. A few families are able to send their children to a nearby private school in Jangpura Colony. Under the "Education for All" programme of the Ministry of Human Resources Development, a group of volunteers conduct literacy classes for adults as well as children. However, according to the slum dwellers, the classes are not conducted regularly.

People in this slum have various occupations. The men are rickshaw pullers, daily wage labourers, *mistri* (masons), car mechanics, factory workers, *chowkidar* (guards), bus conductors, *kabadi wala* (recyclable garbage collectors), vegetable sellers, white washmen, sweepers, and repairmen of such things as seats and sofas. The women are domestic servants in nearby middle-class colonies and *safai karamchari* (sweepers) in offices.

Health facilities are available at the nearby government dispensary in Bhogal. For any major treatment the slum dwellers must go to Safdarjung Hospital, 4–5 kilometers away. Many people also consult private doctors.

Working in the Community

Unlike in the villages, our day here would start late, around 10 a.m. and finish early, around 5–5:30 p.m.

In our first visit we talked to a few women and got some basic information about the slum, its name, and the composition of its population. It was during our second visit that we started asking more specific questions. After taking a quick tour of the slum, accompanied by two women, we were invited to sit in an open clearing where a number of people gathered around us.

With the help of a young boy, the only primary school graduate around, we managed to draw the map of the slum on the roller black board. The whole day was then spent filling in the details of the map record.

Single-sex group discussions were held with men and women of different communities.

As we moved around for the next few days in the slum, children would always gather around us, giving us important bits of information.

Summary of Findings

Although this study uses a small sample, some general observations can be made about gender bias, and these observations tend to confirm the findings of other research.

Economics of Gender Bias in Rural and Urban Settings

The first and most important observation is that poor families—both rural and urban—are locked in a pattern of gender bias that perpetuates gender stereotyping. This behaviour is rooted in social norms that have existed for centuries. The families studied did not perceive their actions as discrimination against girls, because their goal was not to deprive girls of certain rights but to prepare them for their future undisputed role in society.

The girl child is expected to grow into a demure, accommodating, and respectful homemaker. Generally, a "good" six-year old girl should listen to and respect adults, help her mother in household chores, and stay at home and play. On the other hand, "good" boys are expected to be naughty. They generally do not stay around the home. They have many friends to play with, and they usually do not listen to their parents.

Girls are trained to be good homemakers because, on marrying, they will go to a different family and will represent their parents' family. It is very important that they have good manners, respect elders, and do not use bad language because they will uphold their family's honour in another family. The boy, on the other hand, has no such obligations. He is expected to remain in the very house he is born in. If he is a little naughty and playful, it is readily accepted by the family.

If a girl is treated the same way as a boy, then she will be a misfit in society and will suffer later in life. It is for her own good, many parents believe, that she be deprived of an education and not be allowed to express her mind, demand privileges, laugh too much, and be disobedient. She must learn, above all, to serve others.

The families that consciously discriminate against girls most are the better-off rural families. These families restrict their daughters' choices even though they have the means to be more egalitarian. For example, in the Gujar community of Baharagaon, most often when a male child is born he is given dried dates ground into a paste for about a week. When asked why female babies are not given the dates, the families said, "girls do not need extra energy for growing." This is just one of many ways that the better-off rural families are contemptuous toward female children.

This is in keeping with the findings of other empirical work (notably Dreze and Sen, 1995) which states that the effect of increased income on mortality and fertility can be quite slow and weak and that personal and social characteristics of the population, such as female literacy, often have a more powerful influence on demographic outcomes. The work of Dreze and Sen also suggests that gender bias may be lower among poorer households and that literacy may reduce gender bias at any given level of poverty. Similarly, improved employment opportunities for adult women may tend to raise the relative survival chances of girls.

Better-off urban families, especially the ones with

an Early Childhood Development facility nearby, hold more equitable perceptions about their daughters' lives, but they do not appear to treat their daughters much differently from the rural and urban poor. Largely influenced by the media and the intervention of the ECD facility, these families have a better sense of their responsibility regarding their daughters' food, education, and marriage, but we did not find a difference in these families' behaviour. Because urban dwellers have better access to relevant information, it is quite possible that urbanization may influence demographic outcomes independently of other variables, such as family income.

It has been suggested in other studies that increasing numbers of women in the labour force may increase the importance attached to the survival of a female child, but it also may impair the women's ability to ensure the good health of their children by reducing their time available for child care, especially since men typically show great reluctance to share domestic chores. Also, as women pursue gainful employment, the effectiveness of women's agencies, including those connected with child care, is increased.

To what extent these different factors have a bearing on the girl child vis-à-vis the boy, and the net result of these different factors is a matter of further empirical investigation. This study merely confirms that income and urbanization affect demographic outcomes of girls and boys.

Tribal Families

Among those in our sample, rural tribal families are the most free of gender stereotyping, just as they are free of class and caste barriers. For example, in these communities boys, as well as girls, collect water, whereas in other communities only girls perform this task. Research by Dreze and Sen (1995) supports this finding. They found that populations with a higher proportion of Scheduled Tribes had reduced levels of anti-female bias in child survival rates, and that this effect is unchanged by the number of women in the population who work.

Birth Order

In the families we observed, subsequent girls born to the same mother were treated worse than the first. For example, the mother-in-law of one girl restricted feeding of the mother and child upon the birth of the second girl. Conversely, subsequent boys are even more pampered than the first.

Generally, the eldest child, male or female, bears the heaviest load of household responsibilities. He or she is expected to run errands, look after siblings, and so on. In addition, if the eldest and only child happens to be a boy, he is expected to share in household tasks in a somewhat similar fashion to a girl, although he is never expected to cook.

Marriage

The primary concern regarding a girl's future is her marriage, and this concern dominates the way parents perceive and treat their daughters. Girls in these settings do not have any say in their marriage. Marriage is related to a family's honour, and the better-off rural families, who are most concerned about their honour, restrict the behaviour and choices of girls most. Because girls must uphold their family's honour in another family, they are groomed for that role until they marry.

Urbanization seems to have a positive influence on marriage. Girls in the better-off urban families tend to be married off when they are about 17 years old, whereas the rural and urban poor marry their daughters at a much younger age, sometimes as young as 10. In many cases, however, although a marriage ceremony has been performed for convenience, cultural, or financial reasons at an early age, the bride does not physically move to her husband's home until she is older.

Whether poor or well-off, urban or rural, there seems to be no restriction on boys in regards to age of marriage, although even boys are expected to marry by the time they are 22–24 years old.

Education

The close relationship between education and demographic change has clearly emerged in recent empirical studies. Among other factors, such as income, that have a strong influence on fertility and mortality, basic education—especially the education of women—is now widely considered one of the most powerful. The relationship between household income and basic education for girls is more complex, and our study was not able to establish a clear overall link between the two, although some connections were noted in selected communities. For example, in the well-off urban community of Khanpur, the tendency to send children to "good" schools is evident, as is the rise in literacy levels of the community over the generations with increased prosperity in the area.

Within the rural communities, education was perceived differently. The better-off Gujar community did not express an overwhelming desire to send their girls to school. They believe it is more important for a girl to be a good homemaker.

Lower caste families said it was difficult to find husbands for educated girls. The upper caste families thought that by educating their daughters they could find better husbands for them.

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Gender Perspectives in Early Childhood Care and Development in Indonesia

RATNA MEGAWANGI PH.D.

In Indonesia the Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) methodology was not used. Instead, the researcher analyzed five existing data sets collected through more conventional researcher-driven techniques such as questionnaires, interviews, statistical sampling and observation. Using these findings to verify or disprove the presence of gender-biased treatment of men or women, the researcher concluded that girls and boys are socialized differently, but equally, in Indonesian culture. This type of analysis offers a good contrast to the type of observations gleaned from using PLA. It would be interesting to know how Indonesians within a given community perceive their own patterns of socialization and gender typing, how they think about girls and boys, and what this means in terms of the ways girls and boys grow and thrive. While outcomes of development—the relative health, economic status and educational participation—can be examined through empirical research, it is difficult to know from this people's corresponding values, attitudes and beliefs. In an ideal world, one could pair Participatory Learning and Action with empirical studies to gain the most complete picture possible of people's lives.

Because the original study from which these following excerpts were taken was over 100 pages long, and extremely scholarly in tone, we have had to select only a small portion of the discussion (and exclude many citations) to give a flavor of the study.

Introduction to the Country

Indonesia is the largest archipelago in the world, with a population approaching 200 million. The distribution of population is uneven, with 60 percent of the population occupying 7 percent of the total land area. About 60 percent of the population lives in rural areas, but the urban population is growing five times as fast as the rural population. (World Bank, 1988)

For almost 30 years, Indonesia has enjoyed stable government and national leadership, building a strong platform for sustained economic growth and social development. Improved economic performance has brought improvements in other social sectors. Universal primary education has basically been accomplished. The government has launched a program striving to achieve universal access to secondary education, which will further improve the quality of human resources. Nevertheless, much work remains to be done which will require increased attention. For example, a number of nutrition goals remain matters of concern. Low birth weight, child malnutrition and maternal mortality (MMR was 425 in 1992) remain serious problems. (UNICEF, 1995)

Cultural Context

Indonesia is a culturally diverse nation. There are 36 major ethnic groups and the Javanese are the largest group in Indonesia. Forty percent of the Indonesians speak Javanese at home, and 58 percent living in Java speak this language. (Bahasa Indonesia is the national language.) This study focused mostly on the Javanese values and beliefs. Since other ethnic groups were represented in the data sets, such as the Minang family from West Sumatra and the Minahasan family from North Sulawesi (only in discussing the roles of fathers in household tasks), these groups were briefly discussed. Nearly 90 percent of the population embrace the Muslim faith, while the remainder are either Protestant, Catholic, Hindu or Buddhist.

In social life, it is believed the individual should serve as a harmonious part of the family or group, and the nation. This is reflected in the national values about family: the individual is believed to belong to the family and the family is the basic unit of society.

Life in society under the Indonesian ideology should be characterized by harmonious unity (*rukun*). Harmony and unity are complemented by social hierarchy. Everyone should know his or her place and duty, honoring and respecting those in higher positions, while remaining benevolent toward, and responsible for, those in lower positions. (Mulder, 1978)

However, Indonesia is undergoing rapid social changes, especially in big cities in which young people are starting to pull away from the traditional values and norms. This is reflected by the emergence of some social upheavals in Indonesia—the rise in brawls between children from different schools in Jakarta, the increase of teenage pregnancies, and the use of drugs among the youth.

The Structure of Family

The traditional Javanese family system is based on the nuclear family. Once married, a couple might live with either the husband's or the wife's family (usually the wife's family), but they live on their own as soon as they can support themselves. Kinship organization of descent is reckoned equally through father and mother. The husband is the head of the family, and the wife is the household manager, responsible for household daily activities.

Marriages in Indonesia are mostly monogamous. Even though polygamy is permitted in the Indonesian

In Indonesia, both boys and girls participate in household chores.

culture it is not generally practiced. The permission to take another wife is also discouraged by the law which requires the first wife to consent to her husbands marriage to another wife.

In the past divorce was common in the conjugal systems of Southeast Asia. Divorce rates in Indonesia and among the Malay population of Malaysia and Singapore were traditionally the highest in the world. Arranged first marriages and marriage at a young age (under 14 years old) accounted for high divorce rates in socially disadvantaged families. In recent years however divorce rates have fallen dramatically and are now below the Western rates (UN 1993).

The Status of Women

Southeast Asia has long been recognized as an area where women possess high status. Much literature has documented the favorable position of Javanese women. Hull (1982) noted that the status of women in Java appears to be ahead of that in other Asian countries. In the domestic domain female autonomy also has been widely recognized. The Javanese believe that husband and wife should work together as a team. It was the wife, for example, who had control of family finances and hence made many of the family decisions. In a town in central Java, Hull (1982) found that in each income category and social class 80% of married women (n=950) claim that it is they who keep the household income. Geertz (1961) observed that wives make most of the household decisions. They usually discuss with their husbands only major matters. Strong willed men may have a relationship of equal partnership with their wives, but families actually dominated by the man are exceedingly rare (Geertz, 1961:45).

A strong network of ties between related Javanese women produces a matrilocal kinship system. As described by Geertz:

> *The woman has more authority, influence, and responsibility than her husband, and at the same time receives more affection and loyalty. The concentration of both of these features in the female role leaves the male relatively functionless in regard to the internal affairs of the nuclear family.* (Geertz, 1961:79)

Furthermore, equal inheritance and women's control of property give her considerable bargaining power in the family. The relatively high status and independence of women can be linked to the farming system in Indonesia. Winzeler (1982) hypothesized that when men and women are both involved equally in farming, the status of women tends to be favorable.

The only matrilineal structure is found in West Sumatra among the Minang people. The Minang are known for their matrilineal structure with descent through the mothers line. This is the rarest type of family structure found in the world. Women in this area are notable for having a high degree of power because they control the family property and inheritance. It is also the women's duty to preserve the cultural ceremony and customs.

Equal opportunity for Indonesian women to participate in development is guaranteed by the formal legal framework of the country. The Guidelines of State Policy (GBHN) of 1978, 1983, and 1988 declare that

Women as citizens and development agents should have the same rights, responsibilities, and opportunities in all spheres of the nation's life and development activities."

Analysis of Findings and Discussion

In terms of outcome indicators such as infant mortality rate and nutritional status (using large survey data) suggest that female children tend to be better off than male children. The precise reasons why female children have a lower infant mortality rate and better nutritional status in Indonesia, however, remain unknown. Specific behaviors possibly influencing morbidity and mortality include differential breastfeeding, affective involvement, food distribution, and attention during illness. However, these aspects did not seem to be the case in Indonesia. Some health and feeding practices cited in this report do not imply such biases. Also, findings from data analyses showed no differential treatments in favor of female children in these aspects.

Other explanations may be relevant to explain why female children were better nourished and had higher survival rates, hence, better resistance toward some diseases than male children. Stini (1969) found that the long-term effects of protein deprivation are more pronounced in males than in females. There may be some biological basis to explain this trend. Ravindran (1986) noted that male infants have an inherently greater vulnerability than female infants to many causes of death. The x-linked immuno-regulatory genes appear to contribute to a greater susceptibility to infectious diseases for males. Only when serious feeding biases in favor of males occur, such as is the case in some countries in South Asia, will the female infant mortality rate exceed that of males. Given the equal treatment received by both sexes in Indonesia, the biological advantages of females have meant that female children tend to have higher survival rates.

The relatively equal treatments between female and male children in Indonesia is supported by studies which indicated that female and male children are equally wanted. Findings from empirical data from the Javanese culture even showed a slight tendency of daughter preference, even though this finding is not conclusive. This calls for more investigation in this area. Above all, parents put high values on children regardless of the sex. Children are regarded as having sacred values that can strengthen the marriage bonds and fulfill the psychological needs of parents.

Equal treatment of boys and girls is also reflected in the care of infants in which both sexes are well protected and treated with great care. Children of both sexes in patrilineal society (i.e. the Javanese) tend to be treated equally in terms of receiving parental warmth, care, and discipline. This is also reflected in some outcome indicators, such as mental intelligence, social development, and growth in which no sex differential pattern was observed in this study.

By contrast, in matrilineal society (i.e. the Minang) girls tend to receive more discipline and less warmth than the boys. Since women in Minang culture are notable for their strong status both within the family and the society, findings of this study are surprising. This may be due to the fact that women are expected to be the safeguard of the customary law and cultural ceremonies. Therefore, girls tend to receive stricter discipline. This notion was confirmed by a personal communication conducted with an Indonesian psychologist, who was raised under the influence of Minang culture. She mentioned that as a female in this culture, one should maintain her self-respect and dignity, if she did not, she would be a disgrace for the whole family and relatives.

In terms of intelligence and creativity, the overall differences between boys and girls were not well detected. This may suggest that under equal treatment, females and males would have similar basic capabilities in intelligence and creativity. Many studies have shown that the quality of parental-child interaction is the most influential factor in determining child outcome (Belsky 1984, Zeitlin et al. 1990). This study showed that overall patterns of parental-child interaction were relatively the same for both sexes, which was probably why a sex-differential in the mental intelligence score was not detected.

Based on the literature reviewed, clear distinctions between the roles of male and female children in some household chores are not well detected. It should be kept in mind, however, that these findings were based on small descriptive anthropological studies, making generalization an issue.

Conclusions and Recommendations

This study seems to prove again the widely accepted notion about the high status of women in Southeast Asia. This high status seems to be shaped and reflected in the girl child's early experience. The absence of sex discrimination in Indonesia may be due to some cultural factors, described as follows.

The agricultural system provides opportunity for women to have some economic contributions to the family. Even though gender role differentiation is present to a certain degree in Indonesia, women have strong autonomy in the household sphere. It is usually the women who control the household budget. The presence of income pooling has made the issue of how much each person contributes to the household economy irrelevant. There is a famous Javanese proverb about this. A wife would say to her husband, "Your

money is mine, and my money is mine."

Even though women get involved in agricultural jobs, they are not the primary food producers, so that it is not attractive and profitable for a man to have more than one wife, like in countries where women are the primary food producers. This has made families in Indonesia mostly monogamous. The status of women in monogamous marriage is usually desirable.

Patrilineal structure in the traditional family system has given clear roles to the household members. A husband is considered the head of the household and is not expected to engage in day-to-day household management. A wife is considered the household manager which makes her have high decision-making power in the family. The Javanese family system is matrilocal and matrifocal. Each person would know his or her status and responsibility without expecting others to play the same roles. Mutual respect and harmonious relationships in the Javanese ideal system could force each person to subdue his or her personal interest to the consensus of the collective.

Patrilineal structure of the Javanese family does not make the role differentiation rigid. This study has revealed that fathers are involved in child caretaking activities and do some household tasks. Monogamous marriage makes the father always sleep in the house and he tends to have high interactions with other family members. However, this study showed that wives did not seem to expect their husbands to get involved in domestic activities, as empirical findings revealed that wives' happiness is negatively correlated to fathers' involvement in these activities.

Matrilineal structure, though not representative for the Indonesian culture (less than 5% of the Indonesian population are of the Minang ethnic group), does not guarantee that females would be more favored than males. This study showed just the opposite, the girl child tended to be treated unfavorably. However, this needs more careful investigation, since Minang women are considered "high powered" and dominant by many Indonesians, and sex discrimination against women in this culture group has never been documented before.

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Gender and the Young Child: A Jamaican Community Exploration

JANET BROWN AND DR. GAYLE MCGARRITY

SOUTHFIELD, ST. ELIZABETH, JAMAICA—An eager group of primary school children sat with one of the researchers under a tree during lunch recess to discuss what boys and girls do. The tree bore a sign which read "Do Not Climb Tree." The six-year-olds were asked to sit closest, and for most of the discussion there were at least 10 girls and 8 boys who said they were six and in grade one. More than a dozen other boys and girls ranging from seven to fourteen years old sat and listened, chiming in at points to confirm or contest statements of the younger ones.

All the children said that they had attended basic school (a government/community preschool system for children from 3+ through age 6) before coming to the all-age school (grades 1–9); most attended the basic schools within Southfield. Could they remember being at basic school? Could they remember being four years old? Or did they have someone in their family or nearby who was four? The six-year-old boys were asked to list all the things that boys who are four can do; then the girls were asked the same question about four-year-old girls. The lists came out like this:

FOUR-YEAR-OLD BOYS

What can four-year-old boys do?

Write [*What can you write?*]
...foolishness
...O, C, A, numbers
Walk
Go to Basic School
Run
Talk
Fling stone
Eat
Shoot bird [*at four?*]...Some can, my brother can and he's four
Ride bike, a three-wheel one
Climb tree
Jump
Fight, tease
Bite
Curse bad word
Play kick ball, soccer
Run tyre

At this point the researcher asked, What did boys at age four do at home? Their replies follow.

Kill the flowers
Kill lizards
Climb the building
Jump on the bed
Kill cockroach
Kill rat
Steal sugar
Give trouble
Play football
Sweep yard
Sweep house
Go on errands to the store
Carry things
Make bed

FOUR-YEAR-OLD GIRLS

First, what do four-year-old girls do at school?

Curse bad words
Sweep the classroom
Thump [*hitting someone*]
Kick
Climb tree
Swing
Jump
Play on benches
Play on board [*write, knock it*]
Give trouble
Bite [*sister and friends*]
ABCs
Write own name

What about at home?

Sweep house
Bite
Help their mothers clean house
Wash plate
Wipe house
Wash bathroom

UNICEF 94-0770 Nicole Toutounji

What does a four-year-old girl do?

By the time the girls were making their list, all the children were beginning to get restless, so the six-year-olds were asked to now speak for themselves. What can they now do at this age? Their answers as they spoke for themselves were quite revealing. The girls gave their list first—speaking quickly, sometimes proudly, talking on top of each other in making their list. The boys were more hesitant when it came their turn, taking more time, and appearing more shy about their answers.

SIX-YEAR- OLD GIRLS	SIX-YEAR-OLD BOYS
Clean house	Wash donkey
Wipe out house	Wash horse
Read books	Feed pig
Sweep and mop	Wash cat
Wash school bag	Water goat
Wash plate	Feed calf
Wash panties [*from age 4.5 they asserted*]	Water garden
Wash socks	Help plant roses, care the roses
Wash school uniforms	Roast corn (build the trash fire, put on the corn, roast it)
Clean the toilet	Sweep yard
Clean church and school shoes	Eat grapes, mangoes, apples
Cook [*What do they cook?*]	Stone mangoes
...johnnycake [*a fried flour dumpling*]	Shoot bird (roast it and then feed it to the puppy)
...fry banana chips	Feed the puppy scraps
...fry egg	[*Anything inside the house?*]
...frankfurters	Wash and dry plate
...cook chicken [*How?*] Put oil in the pot, then the chicken	Carry things to the table
...cook rice	Play
Share the plates, glasses	Play ball
Comb hair (my own, my mom's)	Play dolly house with the girls
Wash van and car	Cricket
Swing	Basketball
Clean up pig mess	Ride two-wheel bike
Play dolly house	
Empty chimmy [*chamber pot*], wash it	
Water goat	
Water plants	

As the boys began talking about the sports they played, the girls chimed in. "Girls, too, Miss." When both boys and girls were asked about the games they played at this age, they agreed that girls and boys play all the same games. One girl said that the only game that girls played that boys didn't was "Dandy Shandy" a game of toss-and-dodge played with a ball or juice box. Ball sports, tug-o-war, swimming, tennis, riding bicycle, were all seen as activities for both boys and girls. When one girl said that boys didn't usually shop, one boy said, "Yes, I shop. I go to the shop and play games in the shop."

When these lists were finished, group pictures were taken of all the children, and of the six-year-old "informant" groups. While standing under the tree, younger and older children (up to age fourteen, average age 8 to 9) told the researcher what they wanted to be when they became adults. The boys' list started with "DJ" [*disc jockey who sings and spins records*]; three said they wanted to be soldiers, while three said firemen. Two wanted to be boxers, one a policeman, one a pilot. When the same group was asked if any of them wanted to be farmers, at least four said yes. One aspiring boxer said he also wanted to be an artist. One girl, age 7, started off the girls' list with her desire to be a ballet dancer. At least three wanted to be teachers (they were again all talking at once); four policewomen; several wanted to be "modellers"; one an artist, one a farmer, one a lawyer, one a dressmaker, and one a doctor (who also wanted to be a singer and modeller). Several wanted to be more than one thing, as did the boys.

In the background one boy was overheard stating that his friend wanted to be a "gal man." The boy (age 10) then explained for himself that this meant he wanted to "have plenty gal." [*Why?*] "So they can cook, clean and wash." When asked what he would do if he didn't "have plenty gal," he said that he would "have to help myself ...and maybe make a garden."

Despite the statements of many parents, old and young, that they raise their young sons and daughters similarly, it was very clear in these conversations with Southfield children that by the age of six—and even by the age of four—clear distinctions were already being drawn about what were girl activities and boy activities, especially within the domestic sphere. As suggested in other Caribbean research on gender socialization and on family roles (Brown and Chevannes 1995; Anderson, Brown and Chevannes 1993, and others), traditional division of labour modelled by adults is passed on early to young children. When the researcher was shown the basic school by a group of the Southfield schoolgirls who volunteered for this, she asked them why only girls volunteered. "Girls are more helpful." [*Why?*] "The boys say that most work is girls' work." "They say that sweeping house is girls' work, yard is boys' work." [*How do they know this? Who teaches them this?*] The girls had no ready answer for this, except to suggest that the boys just make it up. [*So how about the adults at home? What do the men do and the women do? The mothers and fathers?*] "My father cooks ...when my mother is sick." "When my mother is working, my father cooks sometimes."

It was clear in the children's listmaking that there were few stigmas attached to girls doing what boys do. In fact the girls, in following the boys' first list for four-year-olds, seemed quite "competitive" in listing similar activities, particularly mischievous ones. But when the boys followed the girls in stating what they do at age six, there was no similar competition. "Girls' work" was not listed at all, until a prompting question about what they do in the home elicited two such tasks (wash and dry plate, carry things to the table).

In a section of the Southfield report which engaged adults in describing some of their child-rearing practices, a group of men interviewed in a bar one evening discussed the different ways one should raise boys vs girls:

> *Girls need to be treated in a more gentle fashion. You have to give them more attention and explain more things to them. They need to be protected from the boys. You can take chances with boys, but not with girls. Girls are more interested in edu-*

cation than boys are. Whereas a little girl will cry if you prevent her from attending school, the boy will be relieved. Boys are more suitable for outside chores, like caring for animals, searching for wood. Some girls have full responsibility for the house when their parents are not in. A boy should learn to do household chores as well, like taking out the chimmy (chamberpot), cleaning the house, etc. One man interjected that if he were a boy, he would be ashamed to do those chores, but another insisted that if you live on your own, you have to do these things for yourself anyway, so you might as well get used to it from youth. Another said that a boy will be called "chamber bud" if he does such things.

As in other Jamaican communities studied, girls' responsibilities are generally heavier than boys', though farming chores mitigate this difference somewhat in Southfield. Girls' homebound duties are part of a traditional Caribbean strategy of protection and supervision (aimed at preventing early pregnancy and thus thwarted ambitions) as well as skill-building for motherhood and homemaking. The greater freedom enjoyed by boys beyond the "yard" [home space] and their outdoor task assignments are also part of an equally long-standing strategy intended to toughen boys with a range of survival skills seen as required for a hard life, and for their eventual role as primary provider.

As urban "imported" lifestyles increasingly supplant traditional rural patterns in much of the Caribbean—and even in rural Southfield, as the research findings repeatedly reminded us—adult gender roles are being challenged and changed. Over 40% of households throughout the Caribbean are female-headed, with visiting or absentee fathers, and the vast majority of children are born of unmarried parents. Mothers increasingly work outside the home, relying on a range of caregiving arrangements within and beyond the extended family. The contradictions inherent in socializing children for realities that no longer exist, or that are rapidly changing, have not yet been sufficiently confronted by most parents and caregivers or by other traditional socializing institutions. The expanding roles of women, which are translating into more avenues of possibility for young girls and are generating more self-assertive confidence (as the Mayfield school girls are already demonstrating at age six), are not yet paralleled by the extension of male roles beyond the traditional expectations of breadwinner and provider. More equitable sharing of family roles has become a necessity for many families beset with economic hardships within weakened community networks, but the values of male-female equity and mutual trust remain largely unarticulated in present child-rearing and caretaking behaviours.

Recently, academic and other observers of these contradictions have related them directly to the growing Caribbean phenomenon of females outperforming males throughout the school system. At the upper end of the education system, the University of the West Indies (UWI) now graduates seventy women for every thirty men. At the formal system's beginning, boys entering grade one are testing below girls on all nine indicators of a primarily cognitive assessment instrument administered to all primary school entrants in Jamaica.

In the Southfield Basic Schools observed in this research, the teachers interviewed described mixed patterns of achievement between boys and girls; some felt boys learned faster, others that girls were more curious and attentive to their work. The research team observed somewhat more aggressive behaviour among boys, particularly during outdoor "free" time, and that girls were generally more orderly within and outside the classroom. However, at the Mayfield All-age School, a seventeen-year-old Youth Employment trainee from Southfield, placed as a classroom aide for four months, observed that "in most classes it seems that the girls are more challenged in their work than the boys. Most of the girls take their schoolwork seriously, while the boys are not really serious. What seems hard [*in the work*] to the boys seems easier to the girls.... Many boys leave school before time, while more girls finish, unless they get pregnant." Her reflections echo research findings in several other recent Caribbean studies of this phenomenon.

In one such reflection on differential academic achievement of boys and girls, UWI economist Mark Figueroa (1996) suggests that it is the very patterns of early socialization which produce the eventual differences in performance between males and females in secondary and tertiary levels of education. Girls are provided structured and repetitive learning experiences within the home, requiring attention to detail, patience, and obedience. Boys, on the other hand, are the beneficiaries of "male privileging", which relieves them of most of these structured duties while supplying less "outside" life-skills training related to realistic adult futures. Thus, girls are better equipped than are boys for the highly structured English-framed system of education prevailing in the Caribbean, applying the lessons of their early home training to the exigencies of primary and later school achievement.

Southfield, St. Elizabeth, represented for the research team a community that still preserves many of the traditional Jamaican values within a context of a proud and relatively prosperous rural economy. In this community, male school dropouts can still inherit family land, can still anticipate making a reasonable living from farming and, according to the local research team leader, will likely still earn more money than their usually better-educated girlfriends or wives. As one young drop-out told her, "My father has a big van, runs a big farm, makes a lot of money, and he can't even read ... so why do I have to go to school?" A few miles from this community, on Jamaica's South Coast, young boys leave school and often make a

good living from fishing for the local trade as well as the tourist industry. But the women of Southfield are challenging and breaking these traditions. They are migrating to other parishes or abroad to earn their living, and then returning with new-found independence. Many are opting to remain single once they have gained economic independence, regardless of whether they have children. The men of Southfield are mistrustful to varying degrees of these "new women," and increasingly unsure of their roles in relation to them and to their children. As reported in the Southfield study:

> *[A] young man in his early twenties has a traditional Jamaican visiting relationship with his 'babymother' and daughter. He stated that he loved them both, and spent a lot of time with them, but that sometimes he just needed a break; that is why he maintained a separate residence with a couple of male friends. He did not like to spend too much time in his in-laws house* [where his child and babymother lived with her parents] *perhaps* [we thought] *because he felt that he should have his own home for his young family.*

In this regard, Southfield provided for the rest of Jamaica an almost nostalgic look back at how things used to be, but are no more, for most communities and most families. The contradictions inherent in the conversations of the six-year-olds of the Mayfield All-age School have become more urgent in more urbanized communities where commentators in the press, from the pulpit, and on the street corner are asking, "What is happening to our men?" The long list of skills recited with confidence by the six-year-old Southfield girls interviewed enjoyed no similar parallel among the Southfield boys. The implications of these differences within this relatively stable and prosperous rural community remain unclear and call for further study. They also strengthen the call for similar examinations within communities where poverty, family disintegration, weakened or non-existent support institutions, and the penetration of foreign values have resulted in the rapid erosion of traditional values, understandings, and practices.

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Imported lifestyles increasingly supplant traditional rural patterns.

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UNICEF 2316 Bert Demmers

Network **Notes**

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Activities of the Secretariat

The Consultative Group Secretariat is undergoing some changes. The following description is taken from our workplan for the next three years.

The Consultative Group on Early Childhood Care and Development—Consortium 1997–2000: Joining Forces Across the Regions of the World

In the past 15 years, Early Childhood Care and Development has made it onto the map of donor agencies' concerns. Where 15 years ago there were few organizations funding programmes for young children and their families, there are now several seeking to create integrated, effective initiatives that will address the needs of the many young children at risk. The Consultative Group (CG) has been a major force in re-drawing these maps, by bringing together key individuals from *bilateral agencies* such as USAID, *NGOs* like Save the Children, *foundations* such as the Bernard van Leer and Aga Khan Foundations, *research organizations* like High/Scope Educational Research Foundation, and *international banks* such as the World Bank.[1] Together, the partners in the CG have identified research, programming experience, and policies that can help improve the lives of young children at risk and can strengthen their family/community contexts. Through its Secretariat, the CG consortium has become one of the major voices advocating effective supports for young children.

In the last few years, the programming and advocacy work on behalf of young children around the world has grown stronger and more rooted in local, national and regional contexts. Hundreds of exciting programmes have been implemented, local experts have emerged, and in response, agencies such as USAID, UNICEF, and

[1] The list of participating organizations in the Consultative Group includes: Aga Khan Foundation, Bernard van Leer Foundation, USAID, UNICEF, UNESCO, World Bank, InterAmerican Development Bank, Save the Children USA, Christian Childrens Fund, High/Scope Educational Research Foundation, International Youth Foundation, Education Development Center, and the Academy for Educational Development. In addition, the group includes field representatives from: Colombia (CINDE); Turkey (Mother Child Foundation); the Philippines (Community of Learners); Jamaica (Carribean Child Development Centre); Namibia (University of Namibia and ECDNA); Nigeria (UNICEF); and India.

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Activities of the Secretariat

World Bank are turning their attention to a more decentralized regional focus of development work. This is a trend which the Consultative Group has been supporting and encouraging for several years by bringing representatives of regional networks to our annual meetings, by organizing meetings explicitly to support regional networking, by supporting regional networks with information and technical backstopping, by including information from diverse regions in our publications, and by the exchange of dialogue promoted by its Secretariat in the course of attending regional, international and country level meetings.

On the Consultative Group's agenda for the next three years is a focus on strengthening the development of regional capacities and networks as a major strategy in our joint advocacy work for young children. One feature of this strategy is a plan to modify the structure of the CG Secretariat and the roles of our Regional Representatives. Through this modification, we believe that the CG's considerable expertise in gathering, synthesizing and disseminating knowledge can be an effective tool in supporting regional development efforts.

The timing of this shift is significant. A survey of the CG donor Partners (our new term for "participants") revealed that most of them are now concerned with regional development. In addition, there is recognition of the considerable expertise that has developed within regions to support early childhood information exchange and collaboration. There is, as well, great interest in facilitating South-South exchanges, and international agencies are being asked to support this process. Technology has been developed that can support direct exchanges in a cost effective manner. In response to this, international donor agencies have begun to adjust their policies, as well as their organizational and funding structures.

The Consultative Group can play a significant role in helping donor agencies in their shift to a regional focus, and in facilitating collaborations, coordination of efforts, and dissemination of knowledge among regions and agencies, so that those who seek to support young children can have access to the lessons learned elsewhere. As a non-institutional-based, international grouping, the CG Secretariat can offer technical support to regional efforts to convene, exchange information, and establish or extend lines of communication in accord with the regions' own agendas. The CG consortium can help address the challenges of getting regional networks connected to each other through e-mail and Internet technology, as well as through more traditional communication means.

There is now a revised Consultative Group structure, in which the Secretariat has expanded to include *Regional Members of the Secretariat* from each of the key regions of the Majority World (Latin America, Caribbean, Asia, the Arab Countries, East and Southern Africa, West Africa, the SAARC countries [Indian Subcontinent, plus a few other countries], and Eastern Europe/Central Asia). Regional Members of the Secretariat are chosen for their demonstrated experience with regional networking and information exchange. Their information networking efforts will be funded partially through the Consultative Group, in conjunction with individual donors and local resources. In some cases, for example in the Arab Countries, the Regional Member of the Secretariat has been chosen from within an existing network—the Arab Resource Collective (ARC). While a single individual will

Activities of the Secretariat

attend CG meetings and coordinate the Regional Representative role; the actual communication and networking tasks might be carried out by a number of individuals within ARC collaborating to set and achieve goals.

Thus the new CG now has an international global Secretariat directed by Judith Evans, working with Robert Myers and Ellen Ilfeld (our communications specialist); as well as a cadre of regionally based representatives whose contributions to the CG network will be financed on a contractual basis in terms of tasks and projects. The CG consortium (Partners) continues to be comprised of donor agencies, international NGOs, and foundations, but will be served by an expanded Secretariat with greater regional presence and grounding.

Within the new format, responsibilities for the Secretariat are being shared with regionally-based individuals so that the task of attending multiple meetings and synthesizing information can be shared, and so that the expertise of coordinating such a network can be strengthened over time within regions. One goal of this new format is to see regional networks of ECCD specialists and funders/field offices collaborating to address the issues of young children within their region. Thus, the newly conceived Secretariat can be used by international agencies as a valuable resource for its field offices, offering greater awareness of ECCD and greater access to information about successful practices and appropriate principles within the region.

Plan of Action

The development of regional networks is already underway. In some regions they exist already (in Latin America and among Arab countries); in other regions, considerable work has been done to create a regional network (the Caribbean, East Asia); while in the remaining regions networks are less well developed (Africa, Eastern Europe, South Asia). In all instances we are building on what currently exists. What that means is that the specific activities to be undertaken by the Secretariat differ from one region to another.

Over the next year, CG Regional Representatives will be convening regional meetings of interested individuals and institutions, including donor groups, regionally focussed NGOs, and other key ECCD planners. If you or your group are interested in this collaborative effort, please contact the CG Secretariat, and through your Regional Representative we will put you in contact with the others in the area who are interested in exchange and cooperation. (e-mail: info@ecdgroup.com; Fax: (413) 268-7279)

At an inter-agency meeting at UNESCO, May 20–22, in Paris, several donor agencies affirmed their desire to use this mechanism to facilitate regional cooperation. (See meeting report, p. 66) We invite you to join this effort in maximising resources and sharing knowledge about how to best support young children and their families within your country or region.

For those of you with World Wide Web access, keep your eye on the CG website (http://www.ecdgroup.com) for new materials, and in particular for the new regional ECCD websites as they are developed. Check "What's New" for the latest additions.

International Organizations

World Bank

The *ABC of ECD* is a knowledge base on Early Child Development, developed by the World Bank's Human Development Network, in collaboration with the InterAmerican Development Bank, the Consultative Group on Early Childhood Care and Development, and the Childrens House. It is located at: http://www.worldbank.org/children

The *ABC of ECD* is designed to assist task managers, practitioners, program designers, and decision makers in their efforts to promote the healthy growth and development of children from birth to age eight. The site is divided into four sections: 1) what is early child development (ECD) and the theory underlying its techniques and programs; 2) what benefits are gained from ECD interventions; 3) how to design and run an ECD program and evaluate its efficacy; and 4) how to do a cost-benefit analysis of an ECD program.

The site contains approximately 100 documents, and it also provides an annotated list of links to carefully selected related Internet sites. The book, *Early Child Development: Investing in the Future*, by Mary Eming Young, in full text, forms part of the knowledge base.

Aga Khan Foundation

Update on AKF: Young Children and the Family Programme

AKF has supported early childhood projects since the early 1980s, and the range and nature of its projects continue to evolve. Early support for the development of appropriate curricula and teacher training models has led to an increasing emphasis on the support of local resource bases which promote a more comprehensive and community-based approach towards ECD. Many of these resource bases, interested in the quality and appropriateness of ECD models, are keen to explore ways of making their efforts affordable and sustainable at the community level. AKF Education Officers are working with ECD resource centres in different countries to develop strategies to address these common concerns. The following are three areas identified by AKF and its partners for further work:

1. How can local resource bases be strengthened? Without sufficient depth of leadership and technical know-how, as well as an effective organisational structure and adequate financing strategies, these fledgling NGOs can falter.

2. What are the possibilities for community/parent participation in the management, financing and content of ECD programmes in different contexts?

3. How can resource bases enhance and increase their efforts to *learn and share lessons* from their programmes?

In April, AKF(India) commissioned an evaluation of two projects involving ECD Resource Centres: Mobile Creches (Delhi) and CHETNA's Child Resource Centre (Ahmedabad). Each was evaluated separately, according to their specific project objectives and achievements. AKF took the opportunity to ask the evaluators to reflect on the role and potential of Early Childhood Resource Bases in the Indian context. A *roundtable* was organised with a variety of ECD experts, NGOs, advocates, and government institutions at which the topic was discussed and debated. These discussions should prove to be useful as AKF(India) develops new ECD initiatives.

Three East African ECD resource bases supported by the Foundation are the Madrasa Resource Centres (MRC) in Kenya, Zanzibar, and Uganda. These MRCs, all locally registered NGOs in their respective counties, are linked under a

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regional programme led by a Regional Coordinator. The MRC programme began in Mombasa after local coastal leaders, concerned about the low enrollment and retention rates in the schools, asked AKF to work with them to develop an early childhood programme and to mobilise communities to support early childhood education. A local educator was identified. Working with a traditional school or madrasa, until then exclusively devoted to religious teaching, the educator was able to introduce complementary preschool educational activities.

Demand for these activities soon spread from one to ten madrasas and beyond, and AKF proceeded to establish the Madrasa Resource Centre in Mombasa in 1986, in order to provide systematic support to this movement. This MRC developed and implemented a centre and preschool based training methodology, as well as training programmes and manuals. The use of low-cost, locally available indigenous materials and methodology that integrate local motifs, as well as oral and written literature, ensure that the pre-school education is affordable, as well as socially and culturally accessible and appropriate. The programme was replicated along the Kenyan coast and, in response to requests from community leaders, to Zanzibar and Kampala, where Madrasa Resource Centres were established in 1990 and 1993 respectively.

While an internal assessment of the MRC programme in 1994 identified several positive features, it also underlined challenges concerning the financial, technical and organisational sustainability of the Madrasa preschools and Resource Centres. Among the strategies incorporated into the current five-year phase launched in 1997, are the resources to enable efficient and sustainable management of the preschools by the local communities. The communities themselves form management committees, select local women to be trained as teachers, and administer fee collection and salaries. Resource Centre staff train and supervise the teachers and management committees. An innovative concept that the Programme will introduce to supplement the fee income—an erratic and insufficient source of funding—is mini-endowments. These are established by the local community with matching grants from the MRCs which are awarded upon completion of a period during which satisfactory quality and financial accountability have been demonstrated. Each MRC aims to work with 50–75 preschools during this current phase.

The programme has resulted in the training of hundreds of women, with limited education and employment prospects, as teachers in active-learning methodology. Moreover, girls and boys are enrolled in equal numbers in the Madrasa preschools, and women are members of the management committees. Perhaps more significantly, increasing numbers of communities are coming forward to take charge of their local preschools.

The Regional Office will also undertake comparative research across the three countries on impact and costs, as well as on communities' participation in and response to the programme.

Save the Children, US (SC)

Save the Children's Education for All Initiative: Strong Beginnings and Early Childhood Development

Education For All—a Global Challenge and Opportunity. In response to a complex set of critical global educational challenges and needs, the 1990 UN-sponsored World Conference on Education For All (EFA) issued a call for international cooperative action. In 1991, SC launched *Strong Beginnings* (SB), a global action research program in basic education and early childhood development, as its distinctive contribution to this effort.

The goal of *Strong Beginnings* is to demonstrate, as widely as possible, effective methods of involving communities in the development and education of their children. SC attempts to serve as a *bridging mechanism*, fostering creative interaction among local community experiences, service delivery systems, policy, and practice. In this bridging role, *Strong Beginnings* serves as a *tracking system* to understand how local initiatives unfold, and as an *exchange mechanism* disseminating lessons and positive practices. It is a *collaborative venture* with colleagues in universities, governments, and donor agencies which informs and is informed by the expertise of grass-roots practitioners, and which applies locally-derived lessons to larger systems.

A Community-Based, Intergenerational Approach to Education. *Strong Beginnings* demonstration projects engage people in child development in order to foster wider community participation. The program interweaves early childhood development, primary education, and youth and adult nonformal education opportunities in an inter-generational and gender-sensitive approach to meeting basic learning needs. These three components serve as entry points for engaging community members in basic education actions, which correspond to locally felt needs.

Evolving Program Principles. The diverse projects which comprise the SB network cover several themes. These are:

- *community-based approaches*—working with each community in joint situation analysis, project design, and management;
- *inter-generational and multisectoral links*—promoting ECD, primary, and nonformal educational activities, which link and reinforce the learning and development of children and adults across generations and sectors (education, health, economic opportunity);
- *adaptable approaches and varied entry-points*—allowing each community to define the program activities and priority entry-points;
- *low-cost interventions*—utilizing local resources, with minimal dependence on external resources;
- *ensuring quality through local capacity-building*—the principal external supports take the form of training and supportive supervision to build local capacity;
- *building on culture, blending internal/external knowledge*—taking inventories and starting with positive local cultural practice, then blending this indigenous knowledge with external knowledge as appropriate;
- *partnerships among multiple actors*, including children, families, communities, and local, national, and international agencies.

Early Childhood Development. This is a main feature of the *Strong Beginnings* program. ECD projects are operating in Bangladesh, Bolivia, Bosnia and Croatia, Jordan, Honduras, Nepal, Nicaragua, the Philippines, Thailand, and West Bank/Gaza. *Strong Beginnings* ECD approaches take into account the whole child through a variety of mechanisms: child-to-child, parent education via local groups, womens literacy, savings and health groups, nonformal primary education, nutrition, and child care in homes, factories, and community centers. These approaches influence the whole spectrum of child development—enhanced cognitive development and school readiness, support for physical development, and increased understanding of and opportunities for social and emotional development. Support for child development leads to better retention of students in school, offsets the disproportionate drop-out of girls, increases awareness among caregivers of child development, helps to create enriched learning environments, and alters childrearing behaviors.

Training and Training of Trainers. SC is also playing a lead role in improving the

national training capacity in early childhood development in Trinidad, and is pilot testing approaches to local capacity-building for primary education. An International ECD Training Initiative in Africa is being undertaken in conjunction with UNICEF, UNESCO, and the Bernard van Leer Foundation ("More and Better"). Africa Regional Early Childhood Development Training of Trainers Project, a jointly funded effort begun in 1993, focusing on Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Namibia, Republic of South Africa, Uganda, Zanzibar, and Zimbabwe). Policy conferences and workshops with these partners have also occurred in the Middle East (2), Asia (2), and Latin America (1). Documentation deriving from such nonformal community education experiences includes the following:

The Parent as Prime Educator (October 1996). Paper given by Fred Wood at Preschool Learning Alliance conference, Brussels.

Child Care Choices: Low-Income Mothers in Bridgeport, Connecticut (June 1996). Lara Herscovitch. *Child and Youth Care Forum*, Volume 25 (3).

Guide For Parents' Participation (1996). Developed by and for ex-Yugoslavia ECD program.

Working Filipinos and Workplace Child Care (January 1995). Lara Herscovitch. Save the Children (Update TBA, 1997).

The Cultural Context of Play (1994). Fred Wood and Amy Jo Reinhold. Paper presented at the International Association for the Child's Right to Play, Hong Kong.

A Book We Have Written for Our Children. Material prepared for the newly literate parents (1995). Save the Children, Nepal Field Office, Katmandu.

Child Survival and Child Development. Parents as Catalyst. The Role of Parents in the Development of the Young Child in Asia (1993). Amy Jo Reinhold, Editor. Workshop report from the Regional Training Resource Center for Early Childhood Development, Singapore.

ECD Programs and The Girl Child (April 1992). Paper presented by Fred Wood and Amy Jo Reinhold at UNICEF Conference on Education for All Girls: A Human Right, A Social Gain.

Parenting Education Programme Curriculum and Facilitators' Guide Book (significant focus on health). Nepal Field Office, Katmandu.

Child Development, a "baby book", used as a family literacy tool (1995). In Nepali script with English translation. Save the Children, Nepal Field Office.

Specific Country Profiles

Thailand: integrated early childhood development. SC Thailand's education project aims to support children and their families to develop skills for managing their own education and development. In 1992, the Education Development Fund supported an extensive national study/needs assessment, looking at current trends in early childhood development in Thailand. The study was based on the demonstrated need for improved services in response to social and economic changes in family life in rural Thailand. SC became the only NGO-implementing partner in a national pilot community based ECD project funded by UNICEF. The project was designed to respond to the needs of young children in Nakhon Sawan, an increasing number of whose parents leave the villages to work. The project seeks to link already existing services in order to increase the effectiveness of all of them, as well as to enhance individual services provided by SC and government agencies. The pilot program, implemented by the government in 15 provinces, was adopted as a national program. Today, the program provides training to community groups and volunteers in Mae Wong District, using (among other methods) a curriculum designed specifically for the Thai setting, "Eight Things Village Children Need from Their Families". This larger family development program was recently reviewed by representatives from UNICEF and SC. The result of this collaborative effort will be published jointly by UNICEF and SC, titled, "Bringing Child and Family Programs to Scale in Thailand".

The Philippines: workplace and community-based early childhood development. The workplace child care project, begun in 1993 in Metro Manila, facilitates partnership between company management and parent employees to provide on-site child care services. It is designed to be self-supporting, since the increase in worker productivity and attendance stimulated by the presence of child care on-site is in theory at least equal to the amount of capital which the company invests in providing day care. Beneficiaries are threefold: 1) children of parents working in or around the child care facility; 2) parents; and 3)

company management. SC provides technical assistance to companies on an as-needed basis. In some cases, SC is highly involved in designing and implementing on-site child care, and in other cases, it only links management to technical resources (information, teacher training). The program is operating in four sites as of June, 1996. A qualitative evaluation conducted in January, 1995 and followed up in June, 1996 concluded that child care can indeed increase worker productivity. (Working Filipinos and Workplace Child Care: A Report on Save the Children/USA Experience, 1996.)

There are two Save the Children community-based child development programs in the Philippines, one in Metro Manila, the other in Iloilo, Guimaras. The focus in Metro Manila is upon upgrading the quality of already existing government child care programs through facilitating intensive training of child care workers. In Iloilo, SC has implemented demonstration projects to introduce and refine sustainable approaches to ECD services that demonstrate effective community-local-government partnerships.

Bangladesh. The SC Child Development Unit was established in response to the growing interest in ECD programs and the lack of well-developed expertise in this area. The Unit represents an unusual collaboration between 2 NGOs (Save the Children, which took the lead in conceptualization and initiating, and Plan International) and 2 national NGOs, Gono Shajio Sangstha (GSS, a large, national NGO widely acknowledged to be on the cutting edge of quality primary education) and Phulki (an innovative NGO focused on urban day care—both factory and community based—for low-income working women, especially garment workers).

Housed in GSS, the Unit develops and provides materials, training support, and program planning and development support for a wide range of ECD programs. These include parent/caregiver education, workplace and community-based day care, "shishu" classes for underage children in primary schools, and advocacy. The Unit also acts as a forum for information exchange and sharing.

Research is another important area for the Unit. A research study conducted in collaboration with Tufts University examining the situation of "Children of Garment Workers" (of whom there are more than a million, the vast majority women) will be completed in May. The study aims to find out more about existing child care arrangements in order to design program interventions that build on existing strengths.

SC in Palestine. Save the Children is beginning the implementation of phase two of its Early Childhood Development and Nonformal Education in Palestine. This three-year project is supported by a grant from the European Union and is being implemented in partnership with Save the Children/UK. The goal of this phase of the project is to increase access to early childhood and nonformal education opportunities for young children and their parents living in areas of real poverty. The beneficiaries are Palestinian children aged birth to 12 years of age and their families, in particular their mothers and primary caregivers. The three-year program will consider new methods of reaching families with children under the age of three years and other preschool-age children not attending kindergartens, by developing alternative and complementary programs which may not be center-based. This phase of SC's work will build on the completed two-year phase, also funded by the European Union, which included strengthening ECD coordinators' and teachers' skills, introducing parent involvement into programs, and integrating children with disabilities into kindergartens. Upgrading premises and enriching educational equipment has completed the approach.

The project components include: working with parents, community workshops, child-to-child programs, home-based alternatives, integration of children with disabilities, child development training, community training, and children's libraries.

The following is a summary of project activities:

1. Training workshops to facilitate working more effectively with parents and involving them in ECD/NFE programs.

2. Community-based workshops and activities for mothers and fathers focusing on child development, the value and importance of play, using low-cost environmental waste materials to create and improvise play materials and educational games, working in a team with ECD staff, support to stimulate young children in the home setting, children's rights, disability, etc.

3. Training workshops on alternatives to

center-based ECD provision, such as child-to-child programs, home-based projects, informal play groups, and workshops focusing on reaching more children and families through other entry-points, such as agricultural and environmental health projects.

4. Extending the pilot scheme to integrate children with disabilities into local ECD resources.

5. Providing some financial support for libraries.

UNESCO

Activities Within the Early Childhood and Family (ECF) Unit Since October, 1996

In the field of early childhood and family education activities included: the preparation of a report on early childhood and family education, including policy recommendations, for the upcoming UNESCO General Conference in October; the co-organization with OMEP France of a meeting on Educating the Young Child in Europe (a high level European meeting on early childhood policies); the launching of the first project of the *Reseau Africain Francophone Prime Enfance* (Early Childhood Network for Francophone Africa) in Mali with the training of mothers and grandmothers in childcare.

The main activities concerning the Convention on the Rights of the Child included: the celebration of the International Day for Children's Rights (November 20th) with a discussion of the topic *Education Against Child Abuse*; the co-organization with the Fondation pour l'Enfance and the First Ladies Sahel of a meeting on *The Rights of the Child, Education and Development* (in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso in February 1997); an analysis—in terms of education, culture and communication—of the Initial Reports of the following countries to the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child: Czech Republic, Korea (Dem. Rep of), Maldives, Togo, Trinidad & Tobago, Uganda; and the hosting of an inter-agency meeting on *Children and the Media* at UNESCO Headquarters under the presidency of Ambassador Hammarberg.

The following activities were carried out for the training of early childhood personnel: the establishment of the first UNESCO Early Childhood Co-operating Centre, with the opening of the Averroes European Training Centre for Early Childhood Development and the Family, in January, 1997 in Amsterdam (Netherlands); negotiations to establish a second UNESCO Early Childhood Co-operating Centre in West Africa; and the launching of the translation of the Bernard van Leer/UNESCO Early Childhood Training Pack into French and Arabic. In documentation, the following was undertaken: publication of the Spanish edition of the *Directory of Early Childhood Care* and *Education Organizations in Latin America and the Caribbean*; compilation and printing of the ECF Action-Research in Family and Early Childhood, Monograph No. 6, *Links between Early Childhood Development and Education and Primary Education*; preparation of the *Directory of Early Childhood Care and Education Organizations in Europe and North America* and of *Petite Enfance en Afrique Francophone*, the proceedings of the Ouagadougou Regional Seminar on Early Childhood in Francophone Africa of September 1996; and preparation of a meeting with the UNICEF Education Cluster and the Consultative Group on Early Childhood Care and Development to develop an Inter-Agency Early Childhood Care and Development Communication Strategy on May 20–22, 1997. (See meeting report, p. 66)

High/Scope Foundation

New Publication. High/Scope has recently published a new book—*Models of Early Childhood Education*. Within the publication there is a comparison of six curriculum models (Bank Street, Direct Instruction, High/Scope, Kamii-Devries Constructivist Approach, Montessori, and Teaching Strategies Creative Curricula). The argument is made that it *does* make a difference which curriculum model is implemented. The book is available for $25.95 plus $4.00 for shipping in the US. For more information contact High/Scope Press. Tel: (313) 485-2000 fax: (313) 485-0740. In the US, call Tel: (800) 40-PRESS, Fax: (800) 442-4FAX.

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Meetings

Setting the Pace for Lifelong Learning: Priorities and Strategies for Africa

Mauritius–PLM Azur—December 2–6, 1996
Submitted by Barnabas Otaala, University of Namibia

The theme was Early Childhood Development: Setting the Pace for Lifelong Learning. There were 55 participants representing 19 countries, including Mauritius itself and a number of agencies.

The meeting was officially opened by the Minister of Women and Children's Welfare, with the Minister of Education present. The main objective of the meeting was to review progress made in Africa since the EFA conference held in Jomtien in 1990, including landmarks such as the réflection dirigée held in Mauritius in 1994, the Inter-Agency meeting held in Florence in 1995, the Mid-term review of EFA progress held in Amman, Jordan in June, 1996, and the second Inter-Agency Meeting held in Florence in September, 1996.

The meeting took the form of plenary sessions, along with group discussions, and a special day was organised for field visits to various daycares, preschools and other institutions, including the University of Mauritius and the Mauritius Institute of Education. The purpose of the field visits was to provide an opportunity to the participants to meet with children, parents, primary caregivers, and professionals, and to exchange experiences and merge issues/ideas. On the first day of the meeting, representatives of five countries made presentations of ECD currently undertaken in their respective countries.

In all these activities, the main focus was to revisit the strategies developed at various meetings and to set priorities to develop a new framework of actions that will lead into the twenty first century. In the following paragraphs we provide a summary of the main priority areas, strategies and proposed plans of action as identified by the participants.

Priority Areas of EFA. EFA (Jomtien) emphasized the expanded vision and renewed commitment in the following areas:

- universal access and equity
- learning and achievement
- broadened basic education (including preparation for lifelong learning)

Four priority issues were identified for discussion within the Mauritius meeting:

- working with parents and communities
- holistic approach
- sustainability
- information gathering/dissemination

These issues were addressed by four different working groups using principles of early learning and principles of action developed in earlier meetings, incorporating emerging issues and a new vision, and also emphasizing cross-cutting implementation issues identified by the Florence Inter-Agency Meeting. The groups identified the main components to be used for the development of a plan of action for Africa as reflected in the *Guidelines Towards the Development of ECD in Africa*, agreed upon during the last plenary session.

During the meeting, the participants endorsed the recommendation that the Interim Committee of ECDNA should continue its good work to ensure the establishment of ECDNA.

The Workshop concluded on the 50th Anniversary of UNICEF. Reflection on this achievement energized the participants of the workshop and all the partners in ECD to renew their commitment to ensure that all children will be healthy, loved, safe, educated and allowed to continue their own development.

Developing an Inter-Agency Early Childhood Development Communications Strategy Meeting

UNESCO, Paris—May 20–24, 1997

UNESCO's Early Childhood and Family Education Unit, in cooperation with the UNICEF Education Cluster and the CCF, hosted an invitational meeting to develop a harmonized and common strategy to provide practical and focused information on early childhood issues to different target groups (including policy makers, community leaders, trainers, caregivers, families and parents).

The groups represented at the meeting included: UNICEF, UNESCO (Early Childhood and Family Education Unit, EFA Unit, Basic Education Unit, Special

UNICEF Jorgen Schytte

Needs in Basic Education Unit, and Asia-Pacific Office). The Consultative Group Secretariat (representing 11 donor organizations). Save the Children UK, UNICEF Latin America/Colombia, World Bank Education Development Center, Arab Resource Collective, Childwatch International, Averroes Foundation, and Centre International de l'Enfance et de la Famille (CIDEF).

The groups present agreed in principle to work on a joint, inter-agency communication strategy. The goals of this strategy are to:

—share ECCD information and resources between and among international organizations;

—promote better cooperation among agencies doing ECCD work;

—reduce duplication of efforts in programme planning, design, and ECCD advocacy;

—strengthen an individual organization's ability to help children by working together with others, with each organization contributing its own "piece of the puzzle."

Four communication goals were identified:

1. *Communicate among ourselves*—strengthen sharing of knowledge and resources among organizations doing ECCD work;

2. *Communicate within our own organizations*—undertake in-house advocacy for early childhood care and development, and build up inter-sectoral supports for ECCD within organizational headquarters and within their network of field offices;

3. *Communicate with practitioners in the field*—create and/or activate ECCD support networks at the regional level;

4. *Communicate to the general public*—activate resources for awareness-raising and advocacy for young children and families.

Primary messages emerging from the meeting. It was agreed that the Consultative Group mechanism should continue to be used for implementing/facilitating the communication strategy. Because the CG is already a strong inter-agency collaboration, with established communication networks, it would be desirable to build upon this and strengthen it, rather than setting up a separate communication task force.

There was a consensus that the Regional Members of the Secretariat could be used to convene meetings within regions. These meetings would aim to foster collaboration and sharing of knowledge and resources among regional, country and field offices, as well as regionally-based NGOs. Using the CG Regional Members of the Secretariat as conveners would provide a *neutral* meeting ground for agencies with diverse agendas to find common goals and share resources.

It was decided that the individuals attending the meeting would need to take the agreed upon strategies back to their respective organizations, and work within their organization to identify and define the ways in which they could contribute to the joint effort. This includes identifying

or mapping what the organization is already doing to promote ECCD, identifying in-house strengths, resources and expertise which might be shared with other agencies, and identifying any *commitments* the organization might wish to make to the process. An ECCD mapping tool was drafted, which will be circulated by the end of June. This will help organizations identify their ECCD strengths in the following seven areas: 1) Knowledge-Building and Knowledge-Sharing Activities, 2) Developing and Providing Resources, 3) Codifying Knowledge, 4) Producing and Disseminating Products, 5)Using Communication Tools, 6) Creating Supports and Advocacy for ECCD, and 7) Identifying and Addressing Key Issues vis-a-vis Young Children.

Organizations will select a communications *point person*. This person would have responsibility for making sure that information, knowledge, and experience within the organization is sent on a regular basis to the CG Secretariat, so that it could be shared among the participating groups. The communications point person need not be a program officer—he or she might be an assistant or secretary assigned the responsibility of monitoring the flow of information into and out of the communications network on a regular basis. This might entail sending brief monthly or bi-monthly updates to the CG Secretariat describing what people are working on, and what ECCD efforts are underway. If organizations can succeed in sharing information about work in progress, it is more likely that others with related expertise and experience can collaborate and support that work. The communications point person might also be responsible for maintaining an in-house friends-of-ECCD mailing list to disseminate important ECCD information within the organization's own networks.

Several mechanisms were suggested for achieving each communication goal. These will be refined and modified as individual organizations map their own mechanisms and strengths. In addition several possible *commitments* were suggested (with the understanding that each organization must in fact define its own participation in the joint communication network).

Next Steps. As a follow-up to this meeting, it was agreed that UNESCO would prepare a meeting report reflecting these decisions, and also finalize the ECCD resource mapping tool. Participants would take these back to their own organizations for discussion, and would try using the mapping tool to provide information about their organization for a booklet on inter-agency ECCD resources, to be compiled by UNESCO and the CG Secretariat. The CG Secretariat would also share the report and mapping tool with other key organizations working in ECCD and invite their participation in the joint communication strategy as well.

It is up to each organization to determine its own goals, resources, and interest in this shared ECCD communication process. As organizations identify ways they can contribute, these will be pieced together by the CG Secretariat, who can look for ways to coordinate/facilitate sharing and collaboration on the regional and international levels. The CG regional representatives will convene regional meetings to initiate resource and knowledge exchange among field offices. World Bank has offered to try to fund or co-fund some regional meetings for this purpose.

Progress on the joint communication strategy will be reported in the Network Notes of the Consultative Group, and placed in the Children's House World Wide Web site when appropriate. Childwatch offered to set up an e-mail *listserve* (discussion group) for those individuals or organizations with access to e-mail. The Consultative Group will also be reaching out to other donor organizations and international NGOs who have not been part of this mechanism, inviting them to participate and contribute to the shared ECCD knowledge base.

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Publications and Videos

The World Bank Participation Sourcebook
Washington D.C.
The World Bank, 1996

This publication is an outgrowth of the World Bank's Learning Group on Participatory Development. Participation is defined as "a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them." Stakeholders are defined as "those affected by the outcome—negatively or positively—or those who can affect the outcome of a proposed intervention". The document contrasts a participatory stance (in which stakeholders conduct analyses, set objectives, create strategies and formulate project tactics in a collaborative way with the Bank), with an external expert stance (in which someone is brought in to indicate how things should be done). The virtues of participation are argued with respect to the social learning that occurs in the process, and the invention and commitment that result. Special emphasis is placed on incorporating and learning from the poor. The examples provided come from all kinds of projects, including education, rural poverty alleviation, health, sanitation, forestry, women in development, agriculture, etc.

The Sourcebook is directed at "task managers who have already decided to use participatory approaches in their professional work" and "is not a policy document on participation". The 260-page publication is organized as follows:

Chapter I	Reflections on Participation
Chapter II	Shared Experiences
Chapter III	Practice Pointers in Participatory Planning and Decision-Making (this chapter includes sections on getting started, identifying and involving stakeholders, participatory planning and decision making, and task manager roles)
Chapter IV	Practice Pointers in Enabling the Poor to Participate
Appendix I	Methods and Tools
Appendix II	Working Paper Summaries

For more information contact any World Bank office. Price: US $15.95

Empowerment and Family Support
Cornell University, 1996

"Empowerment is an intentional, dynamic, ongoing process centered in the local community, involving mutual respect, critical reflection, caring, and group participation, through which people lacking an equal share of valued resources gain greater access to and control over those resources," said the Cornell Empowerment Group in 1989. To meet the demand for information on empowerment, Moncrieff Cochran, professor of Human Development and Family Studies and coordinator of the Empowerment Group, College of Human Ecology, at Cornell edited a bulletin series called "Empowerment and Family Support". The many requests for back issues of these bulletins prompted the republishing of the six issues together in a book of the same title, which included the addition of an article on the conceptual underpinnings of empowerment.

Among the topics covered are "Empowerment in Practice", featuring an interview with Maria Chavez. A section is devoted to program evaluation from an empowerment perspective. A lead article focuses on how women think about power, empowerment, and their roles.

Another explores the connections between childcare and the empowerment process.

Copies of *Empowerment and Family Support*, 121EFS, may be obtained for $9.00 from the Cornell University Resource Center, 7 BTP, Ithaca, NY 14850.

Publications from the European Community (EC) Childcare Network

For information about the following EC reports, videos or any other aspect of the work of the EC Childcare Network, contact Peter Moss, Thomas Coram Research Unit, Institute of Education, London University, 27/28 Woburn Square, London WC1 H OAA. Tel: (44-171) 612-6954, Fax: (44-171) 612-6927.

A Review of Services for Young Children in the European Union 1990-1995 is the third review of services in Europe since 1986, but the first to include Austria, Finland and Sweden. The EC Childcare Network review presents the current situation in services for children aged 0–10 years, and developments in these services since 1990. It also includes new material on parental employment throughout the UK, based on analyses of the Labour Force Survey. The report is currently being translated into French, Italian, German and Spanish. If you would like copies in any of these languages when they are available, please inform the Equal Opportunities Unit at the European Commission (Fernando Frechauth, European Commission (DGV/D/5), 200 rue de la Loi, B-1049 Brussels, Belgium).

School-Age Childcare in the European Union
This study of services providing care and recreation for children outside school hours and during school holidays includes national profiles for all 15 Member States and case studies of seven centres. It is currently available in English and German, and will soon be available in French. For copies, please contact the Commission at the address given above.

Men as Workers in Services for Children is a discussion paper which argues the importance of employing more men in services for young children and proposes ways in which this might be achieved, drawing on a wide range of examples. This will be available in English, Danish, French, Dutch, Italian and Spanish.

Quality Targets in Services for Young Children proposes 40 targets for services for children under 6, which the Network believes could be achieved throughout the EU within ten years, and which would ensure the implementation of the principles contained in the Council Recommendation on Child Care. This report is the culmination of 5 years work on quality by the Network, which has included reports and a video. It will be available in all 11 official languages.

Publications from the Bernard van Leer Foundation

All enquiries concerning the following Foundation publications should be sent to the Communications Section, Bernard van Leer Foundation, PO Box 82334, 2508 EH The Hague, The Netherlands. Tel: (31-70) 351-2040. Fax: (31-70) 350-2373.

In Search of the Rainbow: Pathways to Quality in Large-scale Programmes for Young Disadvantaged Children

Martin Woodhead. 1996 (ISBN 90-6195-042-2) Number 10 in the Foundation's Early Childhood Development: Practice and Reflections Series.

Our perception of 'quality' in early childhood programmes can be likened to our perception of a rainbow. Composed as it is of sunshine and rain, it changes with every shift in perspective. And just as people have searched for the illusory pot of gold at the rainbow's end, so development experts search for universal definitions and standards of quality. But quality is contextual. Drawing on examples from several countries, Martin Woodhead argues that sensitivity to diversity and to one's own perceptions should be key elements informing all early childhood work. (Note: An earlier draft of this publication was used as a reference in the *CN* 18 lead article.)

Single copies are available free of charge to interested individuals and organizations. A small charge will be made for multiple copies to cover costs of printing and postage.

Calidad de Vida y Desarrollo Infantil

José Julian Amar Amar. 1996 (ISBN 90-6195-041-4) Number 17 in the Foundation's Early Childhood Development: Practice and Reflections Series.

This Spanish-language paper represents a study conducted in Colombia that set out to establish the effects on each child of his or her life experiences, of how he or she builds a personal reality, and of how that shapes perceptions, beliefs and expectations. The paper's core message is the need to develop intervention programmes that are based on the concept of children as individuals within their particular culture.

The author has 17 years of experience working with an interdisciplinary team from the *Universidad del Norte*, Colombia, developing alternative models of intervention for children living in poverty. He is therefore very well placed to ensure that the results of the study change approaches to programmes. Starting from a focus on the role of parents and communities in enhancing the quality of life for their children, he calls for policies and actions that are born within communities themselves—the state is too remote to play more than an integrating role.

Single copies are available free of charge to interested individuals and organizations. A small charge will be made for multiple copies to cover costs of printing and postage.

The Rationale for Experiential/Participatory Learning

Kate Torkington. 1996 (ISBN 90-6195-040-6) Number 16 in the Foundation's Working Papers in Early Childhood Development.

For many years the Bernard van Leer Foundation has supported development and programmes in developing and industrialized countries. Its work is focused on improving the lives of very young children in disadvantaged circumstances, using a development approach which empowers families and communities. To this end, the Foundation sees training as one of the most important ways to build the capacities of project staff and their target groups by developing skills and strengths. It can also be an effective way to disseminate the learning from the projects as well as the principles on which they work.

How trainers train is of equal, if not of more, importance, than the content of their training activities. Those who plan training courses are often preoccupied with what trainees need to know. As a result, not nearly enough attention is given to training methods.

The Foundation is committed to the active, participatory, experiential learning approach. The terms 'active' and 'participatory' refer

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to the trainee's behaviour in the learning situation. Instead of the trainee being a passive recipient of a one-way process of knowledge transmission, he or she becomes an active participator with the trainer in defining and designing the learning situation. The term 'experiential' refers to a learning situation in which the trainer deliberately draws on past and present experiences of the trainee to enrich the learning process. Working together, trainer and trainee can construct situations which give the trainee first-hand experiences during the training itself. These experiences can illuminate and bring greater understanding of theoretical concepts.

The Foundation believes that the most effective ECD strategies are those in which parents are the key figures. By emphasizing adult education approaches, we hope that professional and para-professional workers in ECD will be able to work much more effectively with parents.

While this paper has essentially an adult education/training focus, at the same time it does have a child-centred focus. If influential trainers adopt experiential and participatory training methods with their adult trainees, such training methods will then filter to others. This will result in more appropriate and effective interventions with children and families.

This paper is extracted from a pack entitled *Enhancing the Skills of Early Childhood Trainers*. This pack is only available from UNESCO, Paris. For more information contact: The Young Child and the Family Environment Project, UNESCO, 7 Place Fontenoy, 75352 Paris 07 SP, France. Fax: (33-1) 40-65-94-05.

Publications from the Mina Swaminathan Foundation

All inquiries concerning the following publications should be sent to the M.S. Swaminathan Research Foundation, Third Cross Road, Taramani Institutional Area, Madras 600 113, India. Tel: (91-44) 235-1229, Fax: (91-44) 235-1319, e-mail: MDSAAA51@giasmd01.vsnl.net.in

Playing to Learn: A Training Manual for Early Childhood Education, 1995

ASHA SINGH AND MINA SWAMINATHAN, 1995

During the last two decades, there has been an impressive expansion of childcare services in India in quantitative terms, but inadequate attention to the content and quality of child education. With the growing realization that we require qualitative changes in ECCD programmes, there is a need for greater attention to the training of childcare workers. Although resource materials for field workers do exist, there are still few educational materials available to help train childcare workers to promote the holistic growth and development of young children. It is in this context that *Playing to Learn* fills a gap in terms of both content and methodology.

This manual is intended to be a guidebook for trainers, offering them a comprehensive child-centred perspective on training ECE field workers. The manual provides a framework for the content of training with emphasis on a participatory and self-directed methodology.

Based on the many years of practical experience of the writers, supported by the rich inputs of resource persons, and then carefully field tested, this manual is a practical 'hands-on' guidebook, as well as a theoretical foundation. The role of play in child growth, development, and learning runs through its various sections. The first section of the manual provides trainees with an understanding of their own personalities. This is intended to help teachers assess their own strengths and weaknesses as well as the attitudes and values that underlie their interactions. The second section provides brief descriptions of the characteristics of children 3–6 years old and their needs and abilities. Section 3 provides information on the organization of space and materials. Section 4 provides ideas about activities that can be undertaken with children. The fifth section describes several strategies and methods to adapt the curriculum to indigenous culture and crafts. The last section provides strategies for parental involvement and community support, since a total picture of childhood and child education can emerge only with community participation. Trainers can also draw on additional, theoretical materials from the readings suggested in the annotated bibliography. The exercises, sessions and ideas are suggestive, not exhaustive. It is expected that trainers will create additional sessions to suit their specific needs. Furthermore, there is free scope for regional variation in the selection of songs, stories, crafts, games, etc. In the end, we all learn by doing.

Design for Partnership: Proceedings of a Consultation on NGO Government Partnership for Child Care

MINA SWAMINATHAN AND ANJALI DAMODARAN, 1996

Partnerships between government and NGOs offer unique opportunities for synergy and progress toward sustainable development. Recent government directives in India, which have led to the NGO community taking greater responsibility for conducting the Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) program, provided the stimulus for a discussion of NGO/government partnerships. The consultation was conducted to more clearly define roles and responsibilities. Collaborators in established partnerships were invited to give their insights, to outline the general issues involved in partnership, and to

provide the context for discussion of child care services. This offered conference participants the opportunity to: share experiences of successful partnerships, not only in child care, but in other spheres as well, including literacy, health and women's development; learn from these experiences and clarify the issues related to partnership; study the diverse methodologies developed for application to a wide range of situations; and explore the problems and challenges facing partner organizations.

While the original intent was only to discuss the conditions for partnership between NGOs and the government, the presentations clearly indicated the need for a partnership "triad" involving the local bodies and grassroots structures as well. The group's discussions later went on to postulate a four-cornered partnership including the community.

The consultation formulated recommendations for improving child care policies; it also provided guidelines for successful partnerships and helped NGOs and government better understand the implications of partnership.

Learning from Innovations: Report of a Consultation on Innovative Approaches in Early Childhood Care and Education, 1995

The last two decades have witnessed phenomenal growth of child care services in India. Not withstanding their significant achievements, these programmes have not fully met the complex and interrelated needs of women and children in the country, with its rich diversity of social, economic and cultural settings, and occupational patterns. It has been observed that country-wide programmes often tend to be relatively structured, while the care of the young, by its very nature, calls for flexibility and adaptation so as to respond to the varying needs of children in diverse human situations.

There is a wealth of experience available in the voluntary sector on the implementation of micro-level programmes of child care. These programmes are not known widely enough, despite valuable lessons they may have to offer for improving implementation of large scale programmes, and hence remain under-utilized. It was within this context that the National Institute of Public Co-operation and Child Development (NIPCCD) and the M.S. Swaminathan Research Foundation (MSSRF) felt the need to jointly convene a consultation to critically analyze the important issues related to the development of child care services, as well as to make recommendations for strengthening the mainstream programmes of ECCD in the country. The specific objectives of the consultation were:

–To draw the attention of policy makers to the multiple approaches to ECCD as presented in eight case studies of innovative child care programmes published in the SURAKSHA series by the M.S. Swaminathan Research Foundation.

–To analyze critically and discuss important issues related to the development of child care services in light of the documented experiences.

–To recommend how the insights of these experiences can be incorporated into mainstream child care programmes.

The discussions focused on issues of program replicability and sustainability; strategies for encouraging flexibility and responsiveness; indicators for determining cost effectiveness and measuring quality and relevance; participatory training approaches and the development of a cadre of committed workers; decentralization and involvement of local institutions; and managerial strategies to promote innovative programmes, among others. The conclusions and recommendations have implications for policy and programme planning for child care services.

UNICEF 93-1691 Shams-uz-Zaman

New Video Release: Child-to-Child: At the Roots of Health

Child-to-Child: At the Roots of Health introduces communities to Child-to-Child, a method of health education currently being used by individuals and groups in over 80 countries. In 1991, Child-to-Child won the Maurice Pate Award from UNICEF for its outstanding contributions to the promotion of children's health and well-being.

Filmed in Mexico, where Child-to-Child was introduced over 17 years ago by health activist and author David Werner (author, *Where There Is No Doctor*), *Child-to-Child: At the Roots of Health* demonstrates how—with little cost—communities can engage the enthusiasm, imagination, and hope of their children to find sustainable solutions to problems affecting their physical, mental, and social health and well-being. Problems addressed include: dehydration and diarrheal disease, measles, pollution, and disability. A companion study guide details the method as practiced in Mexico and provides a case study demonstrating the method's versatility, including its ability to address problems like drugs, gangs and alcohol abuse.

Project video advisors included Child-to-Child development team member David Werner, plus experienced Child-to-Child health promoters Martin Reyes (Mexico) and Celine Woznica (USA). Written and produced by Anne R. Peterson. Edited by Gustavo Vazquez. Music and musical arrangements by Guillermo Galindo, artwork by Juana Alicia, narrated in English and Spanish by Sylvia Mullally Aguirre. TRT: seventeen minutes, 60 page guidebook with resource listing.

Mastered on Digital Beta SP for Children's Day of Broadcasting. Available in English and Spanish. VHS copies: $149 Institutions, $99 Community-based groups. Easily translated into additional languages. Study guide available in English only. For further information contact: Anne R. Peterson, Producer, PO Box 617, Tiburon, CA 94920. Tel: (415) 435-0332; Fax: (415) 435-5321; e-mail: Childchild@aol.com.

Calendar

June 22–25, 1997

Global Knowledge 97: Knowledge for Development in the Information Age
Toronto, Canada

The Conference, co-sponsored by the World Bank, the Canadian Government, and a host of other organizations, will draw an estimated 1,200 participants: senior government officials, local knowledge builders, the NGO community, business leaders, and other experts from around the globe. It will focus on three core themes:

—Understanding the information revolution and its implications for developing countries and the world's poor.

—Sharing strategies, experiences and tools in harnessing knowledge for development.

—Building new partnerships that empower the poor with information and knowledge, fostering international dialogue on development, and strengthening the knowledge resources of developing countries.

A Global Knowledge for Development WWW site (http://www.globalknowledge.org) is online. It will provide information about Conference-related activities.

July 27–August 3, 1997

Third Regional Conference on Psychology for Professionals in the Americas
Mexico City

This regional conference will include four panels dealing with different aspects of early childhood. Robert Myers has organized a session called *Child Development: Theory and Practice*.

September 1–4, 1997

International Consultation on ECE and Special Educational Needs
UNESCO, Paris

The consultation is being organized in response to the recommendations of the Salamanca Conference to address the issue of the relationship between ECE and Special Educational Needs, and to examine this area in relation to programme development and service provision. A report will be developed, addressed to governments, international organizations and NGOs, and professional and community groups. The report will provide an overview of the state of the art and a summary of the issues discussed at the Consultation, giving concrete guidelines and suggestions for action. The information provided should facilitate the initiation of action by the relevant concerned bodies. It is also likely that the Consultation will provide concrete activities to be carried out by the respective agencies and organizations to enhance applications in the field at the national level.

September 15–19, 1997

International Seminar on Early Childhood Care and Development in Transitional Mongolia
Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia

This Seminar is being organized by the Mongolian Ministry of Education and Culture, Save the Children (UK) and World Vision International–Mongolia. The purpose of the seminar is to:

—exchange experience on the pre-school systems of various countries

—introduce leading international experts to Mongolias pre-school system

—expose relevant national personnel to different approaches with a view to improving systems, curriculum content and training methods

Invitations are extended to international participants from Germany, Hungary, New Zealand, the People's Republic of China, Russian Federation, Scandinavia, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

For more Information contact Joan Zook of World Vision in Mongolia, e-mail: eccdmon@magicnet.mn

September 29–October 17, 1997

Professional Institute for Africa
Windhoek, Namibia

Regional Tramma Programs linked to University of Victoria. The idea to hold a series of regional training workshops grew out of international and donor agency participation in summer workshops in 1994 and 1995. Some participants indicated they would like to repeat their UVIC experience at a regional level, and some wondered if there might be some continuity in training that could even lead to a degree. It was felt that a distance education program might be set up in conjunction with periodic regional workshops that could satisfy these desires. UNICEF was interested and has provided some funds to develop the idea. This has led to the workshop in Namibia, hosted by the University of Namibia, under the leadership of Barnabas Otaala and Alan Pence. The principle objective of the Institute is to bring together experienced academic and programme professionals to plan the scope and structure of ECCD Programming, with particular focus on the needs of children, families and communities in rural areas. Others participating in the Institute include Margaret Kabiru, Tuntufye Mwamwenda, Cyril Dalais, and Judith Evans.

October 13, 1997

Quality in Programming
Santiago, Chile

To celebrate the 25th Anniversary of the Preschool Program at the Pontifica Universidad Catolica de Chile, a Seminar is being organized, with a focus on Quality. Dr. David Weikart will be one of the presenters at the Seminar. For more information contact Margarita Silva. Tel: (56-2) 686-5059, Fax: (56-2) 225-6810, e-mail: msilvape@puc.cl

October 12–17, 1997

Health in Transition: Opportunities and Challenges
Arusha, Tanzania

This conference is being hosted by the Tanzanian Public Health Association, and co-sponsored by the World Health Organisation, UNICEF, and the United National Population Fund. This will be the 8th International Congress of the World Federation of Public Health Associations (WFPHA), and the focus will be on charting out measures that are essential for improving global health in the 21st century. If you want more information on the specific topics to be addressed and a copy of the form for submitting an abstract, contact WFPHA Secretariat, 1015 15th Street NW, Suite 300, Washington D.C. 20005-2605. Tel: (202) 789-5696. Fax: (202) 789-5661. e-mail: diane.kuntz@msmail.apha.org *(If you are going to be in the region this might be a good opportunity to make the linkages between health and ECD.)*

November 3–25, 1997

Parent Education Institute
Singapore

An Institute modeled after the one held in Victoria B.C. in 1995 will be held in Singapore. The Institute is currently being planned, but the intent is to focus on parent education and include issues related to both the content of such education (e.g. language development, cognitive stimulation, health and nutrition, child rights) and the methods (through adult/youth literacy and education materials and the mass media). Ongoing parent education projects in the region will be featured (including the projects of NGOs such as SCF and the Bernard van Leer Foundation). Another possible topic to be covered is child assessment methods. Ideally there will be three participants each from Lao PDR, Myanmar, Viet Nam, Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines, China and possibly Cambodia (one UNICEF officer and two key counterparts). Resource persons will come from the region (Khoo Kim Choo, Feny de los Angles Bautista, Nittaya Koichabhakdi). UNICEF will help sponsor the Institute. For more information, contact Sheldon Shaeffer, UNICEF Regional Education Officer, East Asia and Pacific Regional Office, 19 Phra Atit Road, Bangkok, 10200, Thailand. Tel: (662) 280-5931. Fax: (662) 280-3563. e-mail: sshaeffer@bnfaus01.unicef.org

November 5–7, 1997

Preschool Education: Realities and Perspectives
Rabat, Morocco

In the framework of efforts to develop preschool education in Morocco, the Children's (Attal) Association is organizing a three-day international seminar on preschool education, in cooperation with the Faculty of Education of Mohammed University in Rabat. The Seminar topics will include:

—Early bilingualism

—Comparative study of preschool systems

—Training: The first training, continuous training and on-the-job training

—The impact of preschool education on the educational future of children

—Preschool education in the desert

—The disturbed child

—Mental health and the Convention on the Rights of the Child

—Education for health and care: strategies for early education

People wishing to participate should contact Dr. Khaled Andalusi, P.O. Box 8001, Rabat, Morocco. Tel: (212) 77.11.81. Fax: (212) 77.11.81.

Calendar

December 5–7, 1997

Zero to Three: Twelfth National Training Institute
Nashville, Tennessee

Within this annual institute sponsored by Zero to Three Foundation, multi-disciplinary infant-family practitioners, educators and trainers, program administrators and supervisors, researchers and policymakers are invited to:

—discuss, from a variety of disciplines and perspectives, the most critical and timely issues affecting the development of children under three and their families;

—explore the most current, cross-cutting knowledge about very young children and families;

—identify and develop strategies for promoting the best practices in infant-family services; and

—examine public policies that impact on the birth to three population.

For more information contact Zero to Three/National Training Institute, P.O. Box 7270, McLean, VA, USA 22106-7270. Tel: (703) 356-8300.

The *Coordinators' Notebook*, a publication of the Consultative Group on Early Childhood Care and Development, is published twice annually.

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THE CONSULTATIVE GROUP ON EARLY CHILDHOOD CARE AND DEVELOPMENT (CG) is an international interagency group dedicated to improving the condition of young children at risk. The CG grounds its work in a cross-disciplinary view of child care and development.

Launched in 1984, the CG has taken as its main purpose the fostering of communication among international donor agencies and their national counterparts, among decision-makers, funders, researchers, programme providers, parents and communities with the goal of strengthening programmes benefitting young children and their families.

The Consultative Group is administered and represented by its Secretariat. The Group includes a broad-based network of participating organisations and individuals who share a commitment to fostering the well-being and healthy development of young children. Administrative backstopping is provided by Education Development Center (EDC).

The *Coordinators' Notebook* is prepared by the Secretariat of the CG with support from UNICEF, UNESCO, USAID, the World Bank, the Aga Khan Foundation, the Bernard van Leer Foundation, Christian Children's Fund, High/Scope Foundation, InterAmerican Development Bank (IDB), International Youth Foundation (IYF), Save the Children USA, and Academy for Educational Development (AED).

GOALS

TO INCREASE THE KNOWLEDGE BASE. The CG gathers, synthesizes and disseminates information on children's development, drawing from field experiences, traditional wisdom and scientific research.

TO SERVE AS A CATALYST. The CG works to increase awareness of issues affecting children, developing materials and strategies to help move communities, organisations and governments from rhetoric to practice, from policy to programming.

TO BUILD BRIDGES. The CG fosters networking among those with common concerns and interests, working across sectoral divisions, putting people in touch with the work of others by organising meetings, by disseminating information through publications, and by serving as a communications point.

TO SERVE AS A SOUNDING BOARD. The CG engages in dialogue with funders and decision-makers about developments in the field, providing the base for policy formulation, planning, programming and implementation.

Members of the Secretariat occasionally provide technical assistance to individual organisations in programme design, implementation and evaluation, and in the writing of technical papers and reports.

The *Coordinators' Notebook* is produced twice annually. It is one of our networking tools. Each issue focusses on a particular issue or topic, as well as offering network news. We try to provide information on the most appropriate research, field experience and practices to benefit individuals working with young children and their families. We encourage you to share this information with the other networks you take part in. Feel free to copy portions of this *Notebook* and disseminate the information to those who could benefit from it. Please let us know about any programmes or efforts benefitting young children and their families in which you may be involved.

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